00064664

The Grimm Library.

Half buckram. Net prices.

I. GEORGIAN FOLK-TALES. By MARJORY WARDROP. *Out of print.*

II., III., V. THE LEGEND OF PERSEUS. A Study of Tradition and Story, Custom and Myth. By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND. 3 vols. *Out of print.*

IV., VI. THE VOYAGE OF BRAN, SON OF FEBAL, TO THE LAND OF THE LIVING. An old Irish Saga, now first edited, with Translation, Notes, and Glossary by KUNO MEYER. With an Essay upon the Irish Vision of the Happy Otherworld, and the Celtic doctrine of Rebirth, by ALFRED NUTT.

VOL. I. THE HAPPY OTHERWORLD. 1895. xviii, 331 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

VOL. II. THE CELTIC DOCTRINE OF REBIRTH. 1897. xii, 352 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.*

VII. THE LEGEND OF SIR GAWAIN. Studies upon its Original Scope and Significance. By JESSIE L. WESTON. 1897, xvi, 117 pp. 4*s.*

VIII. THE CUCHULLIN SAGA IN IRISH LITERATURE. By ELEANOR HULL. *Out of print.*

IX., X. THE PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORIC FINNS. With translations of the Magic Songs. By the Hon. J. ABERCROMBY. Illustrated. 2 vols. 1898. xxiv, 363; xvi, 400 pp. £1 1*s.*

XI. THE HOME OF THE EDDIC POEMS. By SOPHUS BUGGE. *Out of print.*

XII. THE LEGEND OF SIR LANCELOT DU LAC. Studies upon its Origin, Development, and Position in the Arthurian Romantic Cycle. By JESSIE L. WESTON. 1901. xii, 252 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

XIII. THE WIFE OF BATH'S TALE. By G. F. MAYNADIER. *Out of print.*

XIV. SOHRAB AND RUSTEM. The Epic Theme of a Combat between Father and Son. A Study of its Genesis, Use in Literature and Popular Tradition. By MURRAY A. POTTER, A.M. 1902. xii, 224 pp. 6*s.*

XV. THE THREE DAYS' TOURNAMENT. A Study in Romance and Folklore. Being an Appendix to the Legend of Sir Lancelot. By JESSIE L. WESTON. 1903. xvi, 59 pp. 2*s.*

XVI. THE CATTLE RAID OF CUALNGE (Táin bó Cuailnge). An Ancient Irish Prose Epic translated, for the first time, from 'Lebar na h-Uidhri,' by L. WINIFRED FARADAY, M.A. With Introduction. 1904. 5*s.*

Digitized by Hemendra Kothari
Hemendra Kothari
on 06 November, 2019

The Legend of Sir Perceval

Studies upon its Origin Development, and Position in the Arthurian Cycle

By

Jessie L. Weston

64664

ae

H. e. 32

Vol. I

Chrétien de Troyes

and

Wauchier de Denain

London

Published by David Nutt

at the Sign of the Phœnix

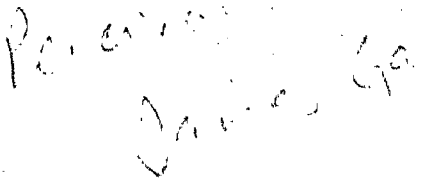
Long Acre

1906

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

395.22
W.S.S./Leg.
64664

Edinburgh : T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty



To the Memory

OF

GASTON PARIS

WHOSE GENIUS, REVERENCE FOR TRUTH IN RESEARCH,
AND GENEROUS APPRECIATION OF THE LABOURS
OF OTHERS, WILL BE HELD IN LASTING
REMEMBRANCE, THESE STUDIES
ARE INSCRIBED

PREFACE

In the introductory chapter I have explained the ultimate object of these studies, and the scheme which I propose to follow in order to attain that object. To what I have said there I have little to add, but while these chapters were in the press M. Bédier's admirable study of the *Tristan* of Thomas appeared, and I would here draw attention to certain remarks to be found therein, since they sound, as it were, the keynote of the Studies I here offer to the public.

At the close of Chapter III.,[1] in discussing the probable date of the earliest *Tristan* poems, M. Bédier, having remarked that Chrétien de Troyes 'semble moins avoir été un créateur épique qu'un habile arrangeur,' continues, 'Entre la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands (1066) et le premier roman conservé de Chrétien de Troyes (1168), une période séculaire s'écoule. Plusieurs indications concordent à prouver que pendant cette période s'est développée toute une première floraison de poèmes Arthuriens.' (The writer then cites the bas-reliefs of the Cathedral of Modena, the presence of Arthurian names in Italian charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the evidence of the priests from Laon, as to Arthurian traditions in Devonshire, early in the twelfth century, concluding), 'C'est à cette haute époque, dans cette *terra incognita* que peu à peu la critique parviendra sans doute à explorer, qu'il nous faut nécessairement placer nos plus anciens poèmes de Tristan.'

Now, if I mistake not, it is precisely with this *première*

[1] *Roman de Tristan*, vol. ii. p. 154 (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1905).

floraison de poèmes Arthuriens that we shall, before the close of these studies, find ourselves dealing; it is a few steps further into this *terra incognita* that I hope to penetrate; and I feel it an augury of happy import that a scholar at once so capable and so cautious as M. Bédier should in such unmistakable terms have avowed his belief in the existence of the first, and the profit likely to be derived from a venture into the second. The *terra incognita* is, let us hope, henceforth no longer a Forbidden Land, but rather a Land of Promise, to be entered very cautiously no doubt, but still to be entered with every hope of bringing thence some fruit to reward our toil.

One word more. In correcting the proofs I found some confusion in the proper names; such confusion was practically inevitable in the case of Studies based upon a number of MS. sources, where no critical text was available. Unfortunately the most accessible text, the edition of M. Potvin, is of no help here; Mons, weak everywhere, is especially so in its proper names. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to adhere to a consistent form throughout, but I must not be held to be thereby implying any opinion as to the correctness of that special form, though it may be that most generally found. Whether we should write Gornemans or Gornumans, Aguiguerron, or Aguinguerron, Guigambrésil or Guingambrésil, Guerrehes or Gurrehes, are points that must await decision till we have at last the long-desired critical text of the *Perceval*. For the present we must do the best we may, and if in the prevailing confusion I have left varying readings in my text I trust I may be pardoned an oversight I have endeavoured to avoid.

PARIS, *March* 1906.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

The *Perceval* Legend—Theories as to origin—Summary of views held by leading scholars—The 'insular' school—M. Gaston Paris—The 'Continental' school—Professor Foerster—Professor Golther—Method proposed to be followed in succeeding Studies . . . xv-xxvi

ABSTRACT of Chrétien's poem 1-11

ABSTRACT of Wauchier's continuation 12-26

CHAPTER I

THE TEXTS

Summary of existing texts—The Paris MSS.—Montpellier—Clermont-Ferrand — Berne — Florence — Mons — British Museum—Heralds' College—Edinburgh—The edition of 1530—Translation by Wisse and Colin—Dutch translation—Icelandic translation—Flemish fragments—The two redactions—Priority of longer version—Classification of texts. Table 27-56

CHAPTER II

THE HERO'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

Summary of the different versions — Chrétien — Wauchier—Manessier—Gerbert—Berne 113—*Bliocadrans* Prologue—

PAGE

Parzival—*Perlesvaus*—Didot *Perceval*—*Syr Percyvelle*—*Peredur*—Icelandic *Parcival*—*Lancelot*—Comparison of these versions—Evidence of B. N. 794, and B. M. Add. 36,614—Relation of the *Bliocadrans* text to the *Parzival*—Conclusions to be drawn 57-75

CHAPTER III

THE PERCEVAL 'ENFANCES'

Summary of versions—Chrétien—*Bliocadrans*—*Parzival*—Didot *Perceval*—*Perlesvaus*—*Syr Percyvelle*—*Peredur*—*Carduino*—Comparison of versions—Probable form of original tale—Tabular analysis of incidents—Independence of extant versions—Connection between Chrétien, *Parzival*, and *Bliocadrans*—Last, probably fragment of Count Philip's book—Untrustworthiness of the Mons MS.—Probable evolution of the story 76-101

CHAPTER IV

THE LOVES OF THE HERO

Title incompatible with later character of hero—Earlier forms of the story—Perceval and Blancheflor—Chrétien—Wauchier—Manessier—Story evidently incomplete—The castle of the Chessboard—Adventure of the stag-hunt—Wauchier—Didot *Perceval*—*Peredur*—Hunting the white stag in early romantic tradition—*Lanzelet*—*Tristan*—Celtic variants—The transformation theme—*Tyolet*—Stag-hunt part of the original *Perceval* story—Three stages of evolution—Folk-lore—Literary—Mystical—Probable ending of Chrétien's source—Evidence of Gerbert—Connection of hero with a fairy maiden—With a heathen knight—Latter a possible development of the tradition—The fate of Perceval's mother—Summing up of the evidence 102-131

CHAPTER V

THE VISIT TO THE GRAIL CASTLE

Part I—The Sword

PAGE

The gift of the sword—The version of Mons—Death of smith connected with the sword—The breaking of the weapon—Versions of B. N. 12,576, Mons, and Heralds' College—Probable conclusion of sword story—Gerbert—The re-forging of the sword—The 'oroison'—The sword in Wolfram not the same weapon—The Mabinogi of *Pwyll prince of Dyved*—Possible explanation of contradictory versions—Wieland 132-152

Part II—The Grail

Chrétien's conception of the Grail—Description of it—Properties ascribed to it—The version of the *Parzival*—Contradiction between Chrétien and Wolfram—References to Fescamp—The Fescamp legend—The knives of the *Parzival* Grail procession—Connection between the legend and the Joseph interpolation in the Perceval—The *Vaudeluque*—Guild of minstrels at Fescamp—The part played by such guilds in the spread of local tradition—Connection between Fescamp and England—Wauchier de Denain—Reference to Fescamp probably in Wauchier's source—Chrétien's Grail definitely ecclesiastical—Connection between Grail and *taillëor*—Perceval not the original Grail winner . . 152-172

CHAPTER VI

CHASTEL ORGUELLOUS AND CHASTEL MERVEILLEUS

Minor details of the *Perceval*—The Lady of the Tent—The Blood-drops—Importance of the Loathly Messenger incident—Details of her message—Arrival of Guigambrésil—Discrepancy between adventures announced and those

PAGE

achieved—Suggested explanation of the confusion—Double *Gawain* contamination—Different character of the earlier and later *Gawain* poems—Grounds for this view—Peculiar character of the textual variants—Brief summary of these variants—Preliminary sketch of probable character of Wauchier's continuation 173-183

CHAPTER VII

CHASTEL MERVEILLEUS

Detailed examination of this section of the poem—Variants of names—Evidence of the Dutch and Flemish versions—Not derived from any extant French text—Variants of Wounded Knight's speech—Special character ascribed to Gawain's achievement—Galvoie-Galloway, early connection of Gawain with Galloway—Details of the longer version—B. N. 1450—Gawain's confession—The coming of Guiromelans—The lament of Clarissans—The version of the *Parzival*—General summing-up of the evidence—Wauchier de Denain, and the earliest form of the *Perceval*—A reconstruction of the *Chastel Merveilleus* poem not impossible 184-215

CHAPTER VIII

CHASTEL MERVEILLEUS—*continued*

Probable conclusion of the original poem—Two alternatives, both represented by redaction I.—The adventures of form B.—The Lady with the Horn—The Bleeding Corpse—The Outraged Maiden—The Grail castle—Details of the procession—Parallels with Chrétien—with Bleheris—an intermediate version—Mont Esclaire and the sword 'as estranges renges'—General character of section doubtful—Summing-up of evidence as affecting the position of Chrétien—The story of Perceval already in a literary form

PAGE

—*Gawain* and *Grail* contaminations earlier than the work of Chrétien—A popular court poet but not an original writer—His position late in the evolution of the Arthurian cycle 216-231

CHAPTER IX

CHASTEL ORGUELLOUS

Different character of the two castles—Chastel Orguellous antagonistic to Arthur—Chivalric rather than magic—Chastel Merveilleus friendly but a magic Other-world abode—Character of poems different—*Chastel Merveilleus* a finished literary production—*Chastel Orguellous* a collection of short episodic poems—Peculiarities of the Mons text—Division of the *Perceval* into sections—Introduction to the *Chastel Orguellous* group—Kay and the spit—The sister of Brandelis—References to the original story—The 'Riche Soudoier' and his castle—Bleheris—Return of Gawain to court—The Slain Knight and the Grail castle—Gawain's son—Perplexing character of the tradition—The theft of Gawain's arms—The 'Grande Conte'—The Dead Knight in the Boat—Gawain and the magic shield—The second reference to Bleheris—The pensive Knight—Guinglain—Conclusion of the *Gawain* adventures—Summary of evidence . 232-252

CHAPTER X

THE 'PERCEVAL' ADVENTURES

Varying character of adventures — The Huntsman — The Treacherous Maiden—The castle of the Chessboard—The Knight in the Tomb—Group of adventures probably interpolated—Their *banal* character—The Knight of the lion—The castle of the Giant—The Ford Amorous—Gawain's son—The visit to Blancheflor—The Loathly Maiden—Perceval at his mother's house—Visit to the Hermit—The

Castle of Maidens—Primitive character of the story—Interesting variants—The recovery of the Stag's head—The Lady of the White Mule—The Bridge of glass—The Bridge Perilous—Character of the story—The tournament at Chastel Orguellous—Important for critical purposes—Return to the castle of the Chessboard—Bagomedes—Wauchier de Denain—Variants of the name—Mont Dolorous—Special character of this adventure—Perceval at the Grail castle—Conclusion of Wauchier's poem . 253-275

CHAPTER XI

CHASTEL ORGUELLOUS: THE RELATION TO OTHER TEXTS

Elucidation—King Amangons and the maidens of the wells—Probable allusion in Manessier—Gawain at the Grail castle—The seven Branches—Chastel Orguellous—Bleheris-Bliobleheris—The English *Gawayne* poems *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyght*—*Golagros and Gawayne*—*The Marriage of Syr Gawayne*—*The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne*—*The Awntyrs of Arthur*—Gawain and Galloway—Parallels with Wauchier's *Perceval*—A probable lost *Geste of Syr Gawayne* 276-287

CHAPTER XII

CHASTEL ORGUELLOUS: THE AUTHOR

Probable author of this collection Bleheris of Wales—Bleobleheris—Bliobliheri—Maistre Blihis, variants of the same name—Probably to be identified with the Bledhericus of Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Breri of Thomas—Credited with extensive knowledge of insular tradition—Date sufficiently early for correct form of name to have been forgotten—Quotation from Bale—Source unknown—Not quoting Helinandus—The Count of Poitiers—Guillaume le Grand—Guillaume VII.—Bledri of Llandaff—Language in which the stories were written 288-297

CHAPTER XIII

BRUN DE BRANLANT

PAGE

Outline of this section—Variants—Probably originally an independent tale—The adventures of Gawain with the sister of Brandelis—Two versions *b.* and *o.*, variants of the MSS. —General evidence in favour of priority of version *o.*— Story probably belongs to an early pre-historic social condition—Reason for its insertion in the *Perceval* . 298-308

CHAPTER XIV

THE 'CARADOS' BOOK

Extent of *Carados* interpolation—Analysis—Practically a cycle within a cycle—Variants of the MSS.—Classification differing from that of the *Perceval* proper—B. N. 794 not the earlier form—Priority of the longer version—Marked folk-lore character of certain features of the story—Cause of insertion in the *Perceval—Chastel Orguellous* introduction —*Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte*—Like previous section interpolated to fill gap in *Chastel Orguellous* MS. 309-318

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

General summary of results arrived at—Tables illustrating development of *Gawain* and *Perceval* legends—Result of investigation found to justify views advanced by M. Gaston Paris—Theories of Professors Foerster and Golther irreconcilable with facts ascertained—Importance of the Fescamp legend—The *Perceval* story far older than popularly supposed—Evidence as to Bleheris and his patron so far incomplete—The Grail legend—Bleheris-*Gawain* version

PAGE

earliest extant form of the story—Features of this story explicable by reference to the Adonis-Tammuz Mysteries—The Golden Bough—The Weeping Women—The Blood-drops—in Gawain version connected with Grail—The Question—Professor Heinzel's suggestion—Grail castle a temple of initiation—The Grail vessel of Feast of the Mysteries—Tradition survived in folk-tale form—The Fescamp legend—Blending of two lines of tradition produce Grail legend—Christian tradition affected by contact with the pagan—Gawain original hero of the story—Concluding remarks 319-336

APPENDIX:—THE 'VOLTO SANTO' OF LUCCA . 337-339

INDEX 340-344

THE
LEGEND OF SIR PERCEVAL

INTRODUCTION

AMONG the stories which have won for themselves a definite and permanent place within the charmed circle of Arthurian tradition, probably the most popular is the legend of Perceval. Whether in its earlier and simpler form, as the tale of the orphan lad, brought up by his mother afar from the haunts of men, whose initial simplicity provokes mockery, whose innate virtue and valour demand respect; or in its later form, as the story of the Christian hero who wins the talisman, and rules the mystic kingdom of the Grail, there is an enduring charm in the legend. A theme which has inspired equally the graceful, somewhat shallow, art of Chrétien de Troyes, the deeper insight and more human sympathies of Wolfram von Eschenbach, and centuries later, the commanding genius of Richard Wagner, has an indisputable claim to be accounted one of the world's great stories.

It is little wonder then if scholars have expended much time and more ingenuity in attempts to solve the manifold problems which beset this fascinating theme, and in offering a fresh contribution to an already extensive literature,

my apology must be the charm of the subject itself and the fact that, in spite of many labours, we still stand but on the threshold of the sanctuary, while the secrets within elude our grasp.

In preparing my studies on the *Lancelot* legend, I came to the conclusion that three roads were open to us, any one of which might lead to the unravelling of some at least of the tangled threads of Arthurian legend: (*a*) a closer study of the *Lancelot* texts, (*b*) an examination of the *Gawain-Grail* stories, or (*c*) a critical investigation of the *Perceval* MSS., the real problem of the cycle lying in the relative position of these three lines of tradition. After a careful study of a certain number of the *Lancelot* texts, I came to the conclusion that the key to the puzzle would be found in *c*, involving as it did also a partial investigation of *b*. The result has more than fulfilled my expectations: a close examination and comparison of the *Perceval* MSS. has revealed a number of facts hitherto unsuspected or ignored, but of extreme value for our investigation. What the ultimate bearing of these facts upon the position to be assigned to the *Perceval* romances may be, it is as yet too early to say; that much of the popular conception of the growth of the story will need revision is certain; but conclusions which have been the outcome of some years' careful study of the original texts cannot be expected in their *ensemble* to win immediate acceptance, and I shall be content if for the moment these studies are received as a genuine attempt, based upon first-hand investigation, to discover the real truth underlying certain very complicated problems, and the evidence here presented judged with fairness and impartiality.

To me the facts point unmistakably in one direction,

to others they may bear a different significance; which is right time will show. If my interpretation be correct I have no fear but that it will ultimately win acceptance.

As a preliminary clearing of the ground, it may be well to state here what is the general critical position of the questions we are about to examine, and what the scheme of treatment I propose to adopt.

The view taken by leading scholars of the *Perceval* legend is, of course, largely conditioned by their attitude toward the Arthurian problem as a whole. It is impossible, given the multitude of studies which have of late years appeared on this subject, to mention individual names and details; it will be sufficient to state the two main and opposing groups, with the leading scholars representative of each. Broadly speaking, we may classify the two schools as the Insular, and the Continental: the first comprising those who hold that the Arthurian tradition as a whole derives from insular and popular sources, the ground themes being largely of folk-lore and Celtic origin, preserved in Wales, and transmitted by the agency of the Welsh Bards.

The most brilliant and representative advocate of this theory was the late M. Gaston Paris. In a Conférence, pronounced before the Société Historique in 1882, *à propos* of the production of Wagner's *Parsifal*, he expressed his opinion on the origin of the subject matter as follows: 'Voici ce qui me paraît le plus vraisemblable. Le conte de Perceval appartient à la tradition galloise, recueillie de la bouche des conteurs et musiciens gallois par les jongleurs et trouvères normands ou français, après la conquête de l'Angleterre. La forme la plus authentique de ce conte nous est sans doute représentée par un poème

anglais du treizième siècle, *Syr Percyvelle*, dans lequel le Graal ne joue encore aucun rôle. Le *Syr Percyvelle*, s'appuie certainement sur un poème *anglo-normand* perdu, et nous offre un spécimen des romans biographiques qui forment la plus ancienne couche des romans français du cycle breton.'[1]

Seven years later, in reviewing Mr. Alfred Nutt's *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, M. Paris practically repeated the views earlier expressed: 'Le grand mérite du nouveau livre, c'est de mettre hors de doute l'origine celtique d'une grande partie des éléments qui figurent dans les romans du Saint Graal, et de démontrer l'erreur de ceux qui dans ces romans regardent comme primitif l'élément Chrétien, qui est, au contraire, récent, et purement littéraire.'[2]

Special stress was laid by M. Paris on the intermediate stage, the Anglo-Norman poems, which were in his view the medium through which the *Matière de Bretagne* came into the hands of the Northern French poets. It is this Anglo-Norman hypothesis, even more than the theory of the Celtic origin, which has been combated by the representatives of the Continental school.

The majority of the advocates of the Insular origin, while agreeing on the whole with M. Paris, may be said to insist more on the Celtic, and popular, origin of the stories than on the medium of transmission. M. Ferd. Lot, in a series of important articles contributed to *Romania*, has adduced valuable evidence on this point. Mr. Alfred Nutt, in the *Studies* referred to above, while

[1] *Société Historique et cercle Saint Simon*, Bulletin No. 2, p. 99, Paris, 1883.

[2] *Romania*, vol. xviii. p. 588.

dealing primarily with the Grail legend, drew attention to a number of interesting parallels existing between the stories of Perceval's youth and early Irish tradition. The recognition of the importance of this latter, as affording evidence of the Celtic origin of much of the subject matter of the Arthurian romantic tales, is a characteristic of the work of the modern school of American critics, mainly represented by Professors Kittredge and Schofield, and their pupils.

On the whole it may be said that the trend of French and American expert opinion is in favour of the Insular theory. I do not know that any leading French scholar has accepted the opposing view; Professor Foerster has indeed claimed M. Bédier as an adherent, but, unless I am mistaken, that scholar inclines rather to the Insular theory, while admitting the necessity for further evidence.

England, unfortunately, with the honourable exception of Mr. Alfred Nutt, is so far but poorly represented in this field of work.

The Continental school is best represented by Professor Wendelin Foerster of Bonn, the learned editor of the works of Chrétien de Troyes. The position taken up, alike by this scholar and Professor Golther, is absolutely clear and uncompromising; there is no genuine Welsh Arthurian romantic legend, the scanty records of his historic feats are all that can be claimed as survival of the Insular tradition. The tales took form and shape in Armorica, from whence they came to the cognisance of the most famous Northern French poet, Chrétien de Troyes, who was the first to use them as subject matter for metrical romance.

On this point there can be no compromise; previous

to Chrétien there were no Arthurian verse romances, Anglo-Norman, or other, and it is vain to seek for traces of such. In a long introduction, prefixed to his edition of *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, Professor Foerster has formulated his views with admirable precision. I cite certain passages which will make clear his position with regard to the question before us: 'Es ist also eine Thatsache dass gereimte Artus-romane vor Kristian in keiner Weise nachweisbar sind, und keine Anspielung, keine Einzelheit, die Annahme einer solchen Existenz desselben empfehlenswerth macht. Es ist nicht die geringste Spur derselben vorhanden.'[1]

So much for the romances in general; for that of *Perceval* in particular the argument is too long and detailed to be cited in its entirety. The result may be summed up as follows: It was Chrétien, and no other, who combined the Grail 'motif' with that of Perceval. Chrétien, also, who gave to the hero of the 'Dummling' story (for Professor Foerster must perforce admit that as a 'Dummling' tale the story of Perceval's childhood and entry into the world is of popular origin) the name by which he is now known. Chrétien, too, brought the *Perceval* story into contact with that of Gawain, Count Philip's book being a Grail story only, and that of the nature of an 'Exemplum,' *i.e.* a short, unadorned, prose recital.[2]

For the origin of the Arthurian tradition in general we are told: 'Während Alles für Bretagne sprach, spricht Alles gegen Wales.'[3]

[1] Cf. Introduction, *Karrenritter*, p. xcviii.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. cxxi. For the source of Chrétien's poem, pp. cxl *et seq.* Also p. clxii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. cxvii.

Nor is Professor Golther less explicit: 'Die gesammte französische *Perceval*-und-*Gral* Dichtung, sowie die aus ihr hervor gegangene Uebersetzungslitteratur in fremde Sprachen ist von Crestien abhängig, sein Gedicht bildet den überall, selbst in den spätesten und freiesten Nachahmungen, wo Phantasie und eigene neue Erfindung der einzelnen Bearbeiter üppig wie Unkraut emporschossen, noch deutlich erkennbaren Kern.'[1]

To Borron is attributed the *Joseph of Arimathea-Grail* legend, based upon the Apocryphal Gospels, and composed solely, and entirely, with the object of explaining what Chrétien had left obscure: 'Crestien ist der Schöpfer der Saga von *Perceval* und vom *Gral*, denn von ihm ist Alles Andere abhängig.'

Both of these scholars rely very largely on the authority of Professor Zimmer, whose Celtic studies have provided them with arguments for the Armorican origin of the Arthurian proper names. These three may be held representative of the Continental theory in its most complete and uncompromising form, and although certain scholars of standing, as, *e.g.*, Professor Martin of Strassburg, and Professor Singer of Berne, have consistently expressed their disagreement with these views, yet they have been more or less followed by the younger German scholars, and in Professor Singer's words: 'Kanonische Geltung zu gewinnen drohn.'

The growing importance attributed to the remains of early Irish literature has resulted in bringing more into prominence the permanent and pervasive character of popular tradition, and most scholars would, I think, now

[1] Cf. *Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur*, vol. i. pp. 139, 163, 167.

hesitate to attribute the origin of a romantic cycle purely to the literary invention of one man.[1]

To sum up the critical position in a few words, M. Gaston Paris and his school stand for the theory of evolution, Professors Foerster and Golther and their followers for that of invention. The ground of debate is absolutely clear, and there can be no mistake as to the position of the contending parties. The following studies, in which, for the first time, the *Perceval* MSS. in their entirety are examined and analysed, will, it is hoped, clear up the position. I will not here anticipate the result of the evidence, but leave it to speak for itself; if I mistake not it does so with no uncertain voice, but it may be well to state at the outset the scheme I have had in view, and the means by which I propose to carry that scheme into effect.

My hope is to examine critically, one by one, and finally group scientifically, all the romances composing the *Perceval* cycle. The task is not an impossible one; the texts concerned are at once less numerous, and less unmanageable in content, than either the *Lancelot* or the *Tristan*. The two most extensive groups are the poem of Chrétien de Troyes, with which these studies deal, and that of Wolfram von Eschenbach, which has been so frequently, and so admirably, edited, that there is no need to do more than examine the evidence presented by the subject matter. Besides these, there are but seven exist-

[1] In the translation recently published of the leading Irish heroic saga, the *Tain bó Cualnge*, Professor Windisch formally approves the parallels between mediæval chivalry and the ideals and customs depicted in the Irish sagas to which attention was directed by Mr. Alfred Nutt in the *Studies* above referred to.

ing texts of Manessier, and two of Gerbert, while both *Peredur* and *Syr Percyvelle* are alike represented by one MS. only. With regard to the *Perlesvaus* and the 'Didot' *Perceval*, the position is not quite so clear; both were certainly intended to form part of a cycle and fragments are to be found incorporated in other romances; the *Tristan* MSS. here require to be examined. There are printed editions of the *Perlesvaus*, probably there was once a Spanish translation;[1] and the Italian libraries possess at least one copy of the *Perceval*.[2] It will be seen that the material to be examined is not likely to make an impossible demand upon time and patience.

The important point is, of course, how to set about the study, and how to group the results obtained. It has appeared to me wiser to be guided mainly by the internal evidence of the romances, and to treat as members of one group those which indicate a common line of tradition. Chrétien and his first continuator require a volume to themselves; the problems here involved are of primary importance in determining our future line of investigation. Next in order I should place the 'Didot' *Perceval*; the Grail portions certainly show signs of later development,

[1] W. Hertz, in his translation of the *Parzival*, refers to a *Historia de Perceval de Gaula*, Caballero de la tabla rotonda, Sevilla, 1526. As there was a printed edition of the *Perlesvaus* in 1521, whereas the prose version of Chrétien's poem was not published till 1530, it seems more probable that it was a translation of the former. I have not been able in any way to trace this translation, and shall be most grateful if any reader can give me information on the subject.

[2] There is a copy at Modena, which, from Professor Camus's notes in the catalogue of that Library, appears to be a fuller text than that preserved in the 'Didot' MS. The late M. Gaston Paris had intended to publish this text.

but the subject matter, as a whole, seems to depend on the same tradition as that followed by Wauchier. None of these romances show signs of Crusading influence.

The versions which do exhibit traces of such influence may profitably be studied together; they consist of the *Parzival*, the *Perlesvaus*, Gerbert's continuation, and, in a lesser degree, the *Syr Percyvelle*. These four romances are of extreme importance for the study of Arthurian literature; there is certainly some subtle connecting link between them, but its precise nature is not easy to determine.

The *Peredur* and the continuation of Manessier cannot be grouped with any of the preceding, nor with each other; both appear to me to reflect an independent knowledge of the whole cycle of *Perceval* tradition, and in their present form to be later in date than the others.

This method will not, I am aware, commend itself at first sight to the advocates of the antiquity of the *Peredur*, but it is that which, after much thought and study, has appeared to me to be the best, and I trust that, in the long-run, it may so approve itself to others.

It is, of course, impossible adequately to treat the *Perceval* story without entering more or less deeply into the complicated problems connected with the legend of the Grail. I have, however, endeavoured as far as possible to restrict my treatment of that fascinating problem to the indications given alike by Chrétien and Wauchier. It is essential that we should know, as far as we can discover it, what was the precise nature of the tradition before each of these writers; but any expression of individual opinion I have reserved for the final pages of this book.

With regard to the citations, in the absence of a critical text, and the presence of such bewildering variants as mark the *Perceval* MSS., it has been difficult to follow any fixed plan; wherever possible I have quoted from M. Potvin's edition, as the one text generally accessible. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to give the best version of the passage cited, but it will readily be understood that, in the case of studies extending over a considerable period of time, and dealing with texts very widely scattered, the importance of any special passage is not always apparent at first sight, and I may not always have given the version which the editor of a critical text might select. The difficulties of the task have been great; and on this point I can only ask for the kind indulgence of my readers.

It remains for me to express my acknowledgments alike to M. Paul Meyer and to M. Bédier; to the former I am indebted, not only for the knowledge of the two important texts, B. M. Add. 36,614 and Nouv. Acq. 6614, and for sundry invaluable references to the literature of the subject, but above all for his kindness in collating the lengthy passages from B. N. 1450, the text of which was in far too corrupt a state to allow of its publication without the assistance of expert authority. M. Bédier, who has read these pages in MS. form, has, on his side, corrected the spelling and punctuation of numerous citations, the former being in the original extremely haphazard, and the latter *nil*. It will be readily understood, in the absence of a critical text, that I am deeply indebted to these scholars.

I have nothing more to add save that, to the best of my ability, the evidence is now collected and prepared. It

remains to be seen whether or not Chrétien de Troyes be entitled to the laurels so lavishly heaped upon his brow.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

PARIS, *November* 1905.

CHRÉTIEN'S POEM

THE poem opens with a moralising Prologue, in which the poet sets forth the necessity of sowing in a good ground, would one reap a rich harvest; he, Chrétien, will well have expended his labour in serving so generous a patron as Count Philip, who has bidden him 'rimoier le meillor conte qui soit contez a cort roial,' that is the *Conte del Graal*, the book of which the Count has given him. Hearken how he delivers himself. After this he plunges *in medias res*.

'Twas in the time that meadows deck themselves with green, and birds sing sweetly, that the son of the widow lady went forth into the woods. He hears the clang of armour, and thinks that devils, against whom his mother has warned him, must be near. Five knights ride out from the woodland, and, taking them for angels, he falls on his knees, and repeats his prayers. They ask tidings of certain knights and maidens who have passed that way. Instead of answering, the boy demands the meaning of each detail of their equipment, and learns from the leader of the party that they are knights, and received armour and knighthood from the hand of King Arthur. The lad returns to his mother, and tells her he has seen knights, who are more beautiful than aught save God; he will himself to court, to be made a knight. The mother, much against her will, is obliged to let him go. She dresses him,

'à la guise de Gales,' gives him sundry counsels, and he rides off, armed with a javelin.

The boy (who so far does not know his own name), comes to a tent, which he takes for the minster his mother has described to him. He enters, and finding a lady sleeping, kisses her, and takes her ring, his mother having told him that the kisses and tokens of fair women are to be desired. After a hearty meal off the provisions he finds in the tent he goes his way, and meeting a charcoal-burner is directed by him to Carduel, where Arthur is holding his court. Outside the gate of the city he meets a knight in red armour, bearing a golden cup, who sends an insulting challenge to the King.

On entering the hall the boy rides so near to the King, who is lost in thought, that his horse's muzzle knocks off Arthur's head-gear. Aroused by this, the King explains that he is pondering over the insult offered to him by the Red Knight, who has carried off his cup, spilling the wine over the Queen. The lad demands knighthood without delay, and the armour of the Red Knight, which has taken his fancy. Kay says he can have it if he will, to the annoyance of the King. The boy goes off at once. A maiden of the court, who has not laughed for ten years, beholding him, laughs, and receives a buffet on the cheek from Kay, who kicks into the fire a fool who had prophesied that the maiden would not laugh till she beheld the best knight in the world.

The Red Knight is waiting for Arthur, or his knights, to challenge the cup, and on the lad's demand for his armour, takes no notice. On the demand being repeated he becomes angry, and strikes the boy with the butt-end of his lance, whereon the lad throws his javelin at him, and,

piercing him through the eye, kills him on the spot. Yonet, who has followed, finds the victor vainly endeavouring to disarm the dead body; coming to his aid, he dresses the boy in the Red Knight's armour, and mounts him on the steed. The lad sends back the cup, with a threatening message to Kay, and rides off.

Towards evening he comes to a castle, where he is well received by an old knight, Gornemans de Gorhaut, who, arming, gives the boy an object lesson in the use of his weapons, and the management of his steed (a lesson which he is quick to apprehend) and lodges him for the night. He would fain have kept him longer, but the boy will not remain. Gornemans bids him beware of overmuch talking, and warns him not to refer to his mother or her counsels, but rather to quote him, Gornemans.

The hero next comes to a castle, Biaurepaire, which belongs to Blancheflor, the niece of his late host. She is in great trouble, being besieged by the troops of a rejected lover, King Clamadeus, headed by the seneschal Aguinguerron. During the night she comes to her guest's bedside, and confides her plight to him: through famine, and loss of her men, she is about to yield the castle, but will stab herself before consenting to wed the king. He promises to aid her, in return for her 'druerie'; and the next day fights with, and overcomes, the seneschal, whom he sends as prisoner to Arthur, with instructions to yield himself to the maiden whom Kay had insulted. Clamadeus, on his way to Biaurepaire, learns the news of his seneschal's discomfiture, but hopes to starve out the fortress. Two vessels, laden with provisions, arrive, driven by adverse winds, in the haven, and the besieged are fully revictualled. Clamadeus then sends a challenge to the hero, who accepts

it, and vanquishes the king, as he did the seneschal, sending him on the same errand to Arthur's court.

The nobles of Biaurepaire are anxious that their deliverer shall wed their lady, and remain in the land, which, however, the knight refuses to do, urging the necessity of seeking his mother. When he shall have found her, whether alive or dead, he will return, marry Blancheflor, and remain in their land. Setting out he comes to a river, on which is a boat with two men fishing, one directs him to a castle near by, which after some difficulty he succeeds in finding. On arriving he is well received, clad in a scarlet mantle, and conducted to a hall, wherein are four hundred knights, gathered round a great fire, and his host, richly dressed, lying on a couch. He bids the guest be seated near him. A squire enters bearing a sword sent by the host's niece, which the old man hands to the knight, 'tis destined for him. He who forged it made but three, and this will break in one peril, known only to its maker. A lad then enters with a Bleeding Lance, followed by two with lighted candles, in silver candelabra, and a maiden with a 'Graal,' the light from which extinguishes the light of the candles. Following her is another maiden with a 'tailléor d'argent.' The hero would fain have asked the meaning of these things, but remembered the old knight's warning and held his peace. After supper he retires to rest, and awakes in the morning to find the palace deserted, and his steed and armour placed in readiness for him. As he rides out of the courtyard, the drawbridge is raised so suddenly that his charger is only saved from falling by a spring. The knight calls back for an explanation, but no answer is vouchsafed. Seeing tracks leading into the forest he follows them, in the hope of overtaking the folk of the

castle. He soon comes upon a maiden sitting under a tree, with a dead knight upon her knees; she knows at once where he has spent the night, and tells him he has been the guest of the Fisher King, so called because, wounded through both thighs in battle, his sole relaxation is that of fishing. She asks did he see the Bleeding Lance, and the Graal, and he answers, 'Yes.' Has he asked concerning them? 'No.' She then demands his name; and we are told in an obscure passage that he who knew not his name, guesses it, and guesses it aright, 'Perceval li Galois.' (Up to this point he has been nameless.) The maiden tells him his name is changed, he is 'Perceval le Caitif.' She knows him well, and is, in fact, his cousin-german. She tells him he has caused his mother's death by his departure from home, and will cause great misfortunes by his silence at the Grail Castle. She also warns him that his sword will fail him at need, and that, should it break, it is useless going to any smith save to him who forged it, Trebuchet. She will speak no more with him. Perceval leaves her, and shortly after meets a lady clad in rags, on a miserable steed. He asks the reason of her plight, and she warns him not to speak to her, or he will incur the wrath of l'Orgillos de la Lande. This knight, indeed, promptly appears, and challenges Perceval, but before fighting explains the reason of his treatment of the lady.

She is none other than the lady of the tent, from whom Perceval had taken the ring, and her lord will not believe that it was against her will. Perceval explains that the fault was his, and that the lady has done penance enough. They fight, and l'Orgillos is vanquished, and sent with his lady to Arthur.

(At this point three MSS., B. N. 12,576, Mons, and Heralds' College, insert the breaking of the sword received at the Grail Castle, the two latter relating how the fragments are returned to the Fisher King.)

Arthur and his knights resolve to set out in search of the Red Knight, as Perceval is called from his armour. That hero, unconsciously, comes to the neighbourhood of the King's camp. Snow has fallen in the night, and the ground is white with it. A flock of wild geese are chased by a falcon, and one overtaken and wounded falls to the ground, three drops of blood dyeing the snow. Perceval, beholding, is reminded of the red and white in the face of his lady, Blancheflor, and falls into a love trance. Arthur's squires see him, and bear tidings to the camp. Segramor hastens to the King, asking permission to joust with the armed knight, which is granted. Perceval, indignant at being disturbed in his musings, unhorses him, and Kay, who follows, shares the same fate, and is besides severely injured, breaking an arm and a leg in his fall. Gawain then approaches and addresses him courteously. Perceval explains the reason of his resentment, mutual recognition follows, and Perceval accompanies Gawain to the camp, to the great joy of the King.

While they all sit at meat a most hideous damsel, riding a mule, appears, and greets the King and all his knights with the exception of Perceval. Him she reproaches bitterly with his failure to ask concerning the Grail and the Lance; had he done so the King would have been healed, but now great misfortunes will follow. She then announces the adventures of Chastel Orguellous, and Mont Esclaire, and departs. Gawain announces his intention of going to Mont Esclaire, Giflet fis Do, to Chastel

Orguellous, while Perceval swears not to remain two nights in the same place till he has learnt concerning Lance and Grail.

At this moment a knight, Guigambrésil, arrives on the scene, accusing Gawain of the treacherous murder of his lord; he challenges him to single combat before the King of Escavalon, at an interval of forty days. Gawain accepts the challenge, and the court breaks up in disorder, the knights departing on their respective quests.

The story follows the fortunes of Gawain, who arrives at Tintaguel, where a tourney is in progress between the lord of the castle, Tiébaut, and Melians de Lis, his ward, and the lover of his elder daughter. Gawain is at first mistaken for a merchant, but the younger daughter of Tiébaut insists that he is a knight, and a more valiant knight than Melians de Lis, for which she is chastised by her sister. On this she repairs to Gawain's lodging, and entreats him to join the tourney on her behalf on the morrow, sending him, at her father's suggestion, a sleeve as token. Gawain accedes to her request, overthrows Melians, and is declared victor of the tourney. After this he departs, much to the regret of Tiébaut and his daughter. Proceeding on his journey he reaches Escavalon, where the King, ignorant of his identity, commits him to the care of his sister, a maiden of surpassing beauty. Gawain is not slow to avail himself of the opportunity, and makes love to the lady, who responds to his advances. A knight who has seen Gawain before, however, reveals his identity, and rouses the town. The Mayor and burghers proceed to attack the tower, and Gawain, making a shield of a chessboard, defends himself valiantly, aided by the lady, who hurls the chessmen, ten times larger than

ordinary, at the assailants. Guigambrésil, returning from Arthur's court, arrives at this juncture, and appeals to the King to respect the safe-conduct he has promised to Gawain. It is agreed that the battle shall be respited for a year, during which time Gawain shall seek the Bleeding Lance, failing to find it he shall return and fulfil his pledge to Guigambrésil. Gawain accepts the conditions, and departs on the quest, sending his attendant squires back to court.

The story now returns to Perceval, and we are told that an interval of five years has elapsed, during which he has wandered in forgetfulness of God, entering neither church nor monastery. On a Good Friday morning he meets a party of knights and ladies, barefooted, returning from a penitential visit to a Hermit; they rebuke Perceval for riding armed on so holy a day, and he explains that he has lost all count of time. Recalled by their words to a sense of duty, he follows the path to the Hermit's cell, and makes confession to him. The Hermit is his uncle, his mother's brother, and he learns from his lips that the Fisher King is also an uncle, and that the father of both still lives, and is nourished by the Grail. Perceval has been the cause of his mother's death, hence his failure to achieve the adventure of the Grail. The hero remains over Easter with the Hermit, and makes his communion devoutly. Chrétien tells us no more concerning him.

The story returns to Gawain, taking up the thread at the point at which it was left, and knowing nothing of such an interval as supposed in the *Perceval* section. Gawain meets with a maiden and wounded knight; this latter warns him to retrace his steps, as this is the 'bone de Gauvoie,' from which no man may return. Gawain,

however, disregards his advice, and continuing his way finds a lovely maiden sitting beside a spring; in contemptuous fashion she accuses him of a design to take her with him, and announces her willingness to accompany him if he will fetch her palfrey, which he will find in an orchard across the stream. Gawain agrees readily, but is warned by all in the orchard that the lady harbours treacherous designs against him. Heedless of the warning he takes the palfrey to the maiden, who flouts him for his pains, forbidding him to offer her the most trivial assistance. They ride off together, the lady announcing her intention of remaining in his company till some shame or disgrace befall him. Gawain accepts her mockery with silent courtesy. They come to the wounded knight, and Gawain, by the application of a certain herb he has gathered 'en route,' restores him to consciousness. A hideous squire, mounted on a miserable hack, now comes up, and on Gawain addressing him answers with such discourtesy that the knight chastises him soundly. Meanwhile the knight, Gréoreas, has recognised Gawain, against whom he bears a grudge for a well-deserved punishment inflicted on him at Arthur's court. By a trick he gains possession of Gawain's steed, and rides off upon it, leaving the knight no resource but to mount the squire's wretched hack. The lady on this redoubles her mockery, and Gawain tells her it is not fitting for a maiden to be so 'médisante' when she has passed the age of ten. They come to the brink of a river, where a knight, the nephew of Gréoreas, overtakes them, mounted on Gawain's steed. The lady draws the hero's attention to a castle on the further side, the windows of which are crowded with ladies, and rejoices in the prospect of his public discomfiture.

Gawain, however, overthrows his adversary, whom he delivers as prisoner to the ferryman, and regains his steed. The lady has meanwhile crossed the river, and is not to be seen. Gawain, at the ferryman's invitation, follows her, and spends the night in the house of the former. In the morning he asks concerning the castle, and learns that it is the seat of mysterious enchantments, many knights and ladies dwell there, but all await the coming of a knight who shall break the spell and release them. Gawain announces his intention of testing the adventure, much to his host's dismay. They repair together to the hall, passing at the entrance a changer with richly stored booth. The hall is splendidly decorated, and in the midst stands a bed, the cords of which are of silver, hung with bells. Gawain would seat himself upon it, but is warned that it is 'le Lit de la Merveille,' none using it can escape with their life. Nothing daunted Gawain takes his seat upon it, and is at once assailed by showers of bolts and arrows from unseen weapons. He survives this test, and a huge lion, rabid with hunger, is let loose upon him. After a fierce conflict he slays the beast; and his host appearing tells him he has nothing more to fear, the enchantments of the palace are broken for ever. A procession of youths and maidens enter, and hail the knight as lord of the castle. The next morning, Gawain announces his intention of going forth to hunt in the forest near by, but is told that he who wins the castle must remain there for ever, at which he is much dismayed. An old queen, the mistress of the castle, sets his mind at rest, and asks him many questions concerning Arthur, the Queen, and the sons of King Lot. Gawain requires of her a pledge that she will not ask his name till seven days have expired.

Seeing the lady who brought him thither riding in the meadow he demands her name; she is 'l'Orgueilleuse de Logres.' He follows her, and overthrows the knight who is riding with her. She then dares him to cross the Perilous Ford, and pluck her flowers from the further side. Gawain, with some difficulty, succeeds in crossing, and meets a knight, Guiromelans, who reveals to him the secret of his late adventures. The old queen is Arthur's mother, who had taken refuge there after Uther Pendragon's death, accompanied by her daughter, wife to King Lot, who subsequently became the mother of the fair maid Gawain has seen. Guiromelans is in love with Gawain's sister, Clarissans, but hates Gawain, who has slain his kinsmen. The lady who accompanies Gawain bears a grudge against him for the death of her lover, and will do him a mischief if she can. Gawain reveals his identity, and the two agree to fight out their quarrel, seven days hence, in the presence of Arthur and his court. They then part, and Gawain returning to the lady finds her in a very different mood; she apologises most humbly for her previous conduct, explaining that she had only intended to test his valour, and goad him on to avenge her wrongs against Guiromelans. They now return to the castle, where they are gladly welcomed, and Gawain at once despatches a messenger to Arthur. The messenger arriving finds the court plunged in grief at Gawain's supposed death.

(Here Chrétien's poem breaks off abruptly, in the midst of a passage relating how Guinevere's ladies hear the sound of lamentation in the hall the appearance of the messenger being at first taken as a confirmation of their worst fears.)

WAUCHIER DE DENAIN[1]

ALL are overjoyed at the tidings of Gawain's safety, a thanksgiving service is held in the Monastery of St. Katherine, and the whole court make ready to depart. On their arrival the queens of the castle, beholding the host from the further side of the river, are filled with dismay, but Gawain, revealing his identity, a joyful recognition ensues. Only the maiden, Clarissans, is overcome with grief at the prospect of the combat between her brother and her lover. Gawain crosses the river to the King's camp, where his news is at first received with incredulity, Arthur deeming him bewitched, but finally they believe, and King and Queen accompany him to the castle. On their return immediate preparations are made for the combat, and these are scarcely concluded when Guiromelans arrives in great state, with a host of ten thousand men and many ladies. The fight is long and fierce; but Gawain is on the point of getting the better of it when Clarissans, in despair, intervenes, and a respite till the morrow is arranged; if Guiromelans will withdraw his accusation of treason against Gawain peace may be made.

(At this point the MSS. fall into two well-marked groups —Redaction I., the longer, Redaction II., the shorter, version. We will take them in order.)

I.a.: Arthur, however, touched by his niece's grief, takes matters into his own hands, and in the early morning causes the marriage to be celebrated. Gawain, arriving armed for battle, is warned of this by Kay, and declaring that his

[1] I have only given the adventures briefly, as they are examined and discussed in the chapters devoted to the respective sections.

uncle has insulted him rides off, vowing he will not return till Arthur himself comes to seek him. Hearing the news, the court breaks up in confusion. Gawain reaches the Grail Castle, and beholds its marvels, which, however, differ from those described by Chrétien, the procession including a bier, on which lies a dead body. A broken sword is brought, and Gawain, who has asked concerning Lance and Grail, is bidden to resolder it, which he fails to do; the host tells him he cannot learn the secret till this task is achieved. Gawain falls asleep, and the next morning wakes to find himself in a 'marais,' his arms beside him, and his steed tied to a tree. He next meets, and fights with, a knight named Disnadares, finally agreeing to postpone the combat till they can fight before witnesses. Gawain now makes his way to Escavalon, the year's grace being almost expired, explains that he has failed to find the Lance, and declares himself ready to fulfil his pledge to Guigambrésil. While the details are being arranged Disnadares appears, and claims his combat. After some discussion it is decided that Gawain shall fight both his adversaries at once; but Arthur's opportune arrival on the scene hinders so unequal a combat; peace is made on the basis of all becoming Arthur's men.

I.b. Three texts, B. N. 12,577, Edinburgh, and the edition of 1530, give some additional adventures. Gawain first meets a maiden on a black mule, bearing an ivory horn, by whom he is hospitably entertained. Her horn being forcibly taken from her he pursues and slays the thief, subsequently fighting with four of his kinsmen. After this he enters the house of the maiden outraged by Gréoreas, and has to fight with her lover. He abolishes the discourteous custom, and then comes to the Grail

Castle. After leaving the castle he reaches Mont Esclaire, frees the lady, and wins the sword 'as estranges renges' which originally belonged to Judas Maccabaeus. Then follows the meeting with Disnadares, and the conclusion as in I.a.

Redaction II. has nothing of this, but makes Gawain at once accede to his sister's prayer, and consent to her marriage with Guiromelans, with which the first division of Wauchier's poem ends.

Brun de Branlant.—The next section deals with Arthur's expedition against the knight so called, who has refused to do homage to him. After a long siege, during which the city is twice almost reduced by famine, but saved by the interposition of two maidens, the fortress yields to the King. During the siege occurs the adventure of Gawain with the sister of Brandelis, whose father and brother he slays, they resenting his relations with the lady.

Carados.[1]—This section is practically a biographical romance, dealing with the career of Carados, supposed son of Carados, King of Vannes, and Ysave of Carahes. It commences with the marriage of the parents, and the deception practised on the bridegroom by the magician, Eliaures, the favoured lover of the lady. Carados is, in truth, the son of the enchanter, and not of the King. When the boy knows Latin, and 'belement parler,' he is

[1] Cf. chap. xiv. This section differs considerably in length; sometimes the introductory incidents are abridged; several MSS. omit the tournament and first meeting with Guimier, which is, however, necessary in order to render the maiden's subsequent action intelligible. Three alone include the details of the marriage and coronation.

sent to Arthur to complete his knightly education, and in due course receives the order of knighthood, the occasion being marked by the holding of a solemn court. During the festivities a stranger knight arrives, and proposes a test of the valour of the assembled knights: he will receive a blow on condition that he may return it. None care to accept the challenge, and the stranger makes disparaging remarks as to the vaunted bravery of Arthur's knights. Carados upon this starts forward, and, the knight handing him his sword, smites off his head. Nothing incommoded the knight picks it up, replaces it on his shoulders, and bidding Carados be in readiness, a year hence, to receive the return blow, rides off. All are much dismayed, but the hero treats the matter very lightly, passing the year in the practice of warlike feats. At the appointed time the knight returns, and demands the fulfilment of the pledge. Arthur in vain offers him all the treasures of his court, the Queen, the most beauteous of her maidens, the stranger insists on his right to the return blow. Amidst universal lamentation Carados kneels down to receive, as all think, his death stroke, when the stranger, lightly touching him on the neck, bids him come aside and speak with him. He then reveals the fact that Carados is his son; he has devised this means of testing his valour. Highly indignant, Carados at once goes off to Vannes, and informs the King of the deceit practised upon him. By his advice the Queen, his mother, is shut up in a high tower, where, however, her magician lover contrives to join her, and the two hold high revelry. Carados, meanwhile, has departed for England, where he falls in with Cador of Cornwall, and his sister, rescuing the latter from an unwelcome lover, Aalardin du Lac. After a sojourn at the magic pavilion

of this latter, who appears to be somewhat of a magician, the three knights set out for a tournament at Arthur's court, at which all distinguish themselves greatly. Carados now receives a summons from his reputed father, the King, who is much perplexed at the conduct of his wife and her lover. Finally they succeed in taking the enchanter prisoner, and inflict on him a punishment parallel with the deceit of which the King was originally the victim. The Queen is furious, and beseeches her lover to devise a suitable punishment for her son. A serpent is concealed in a cupboard in the tower, and when Carados next visits her she sends him thither on the pretext of fetching a comb, or a mirror, when the serpent twines itself round his arm, and can by no means be removed. Carados flies from court, and takes refuge in the woods. After upwards of two years' torture, in the course of which he is reduced to a skeleton, Cador of Cornwall discovers his retreat; and by the courage and self-devotion of his sister, Guimier, he is released from the serpent. One arm is henceforth larger than the other, whence his name of 'Carados Briebras.' Carados weds Guimier, and some texts give a long account of their coronation. We then hear of a second meeting with Aalardin du Lac, when by magical means the wound received by Guimier in freeing Carados from the serpent is healed. Next follows the *Lai du Cor*, a chastity test, devoted to the glorification of Guimier. All this was certainly an independent compilation, and has no connection with the *Perceval*, its introduction into the compilation entailing a hopeless confusion of the chronology.

The story now returns to the adventures announced by the Grail messenger, and we learn that Giflet has, for the

last three years, been a prisoner in the Chastel Orguellous. Arthur, and a chosen band of knights, set forth to rescue him. On the way they come to the castle of Brandelis, and Gawain relates his adventure with the lady of Lys, in terms which, as a rule, do not at all agree with the previous account of the incident. A fierce fight between Gawain and Brandelis takes place, only stopped by the courageous intervention of Gawain's mistress, who throws herself and her child between them. Peace is made, and Brandelis accompanies Arthur to the Chastel Orguellous. After a succession of jousts the owner of the castle, the *Riche Soudoier*, yields himself prisoner to Arthur, and all return to the castle of Brandelis, where they find that Gawain's son has been stolen. Leaving the search for the child to his uncles, Gawain and the mother return to court, bidding Guinevere await Arthur at a certain trysting-place. All betake themselves thither. One evening a stranger knight rides past the tents, the Queen sends Kay to bid him return, and speak with her, which the knight refuses to do, pleading an urgent quest. Gawain then follows, and accosts him courteously. On the promise of safe-conduct, the stranger turns back with him; but scarcely have they approached the tents, when he falls mortally wounded by a dart cast by an unseen hand. He bids Gawain don his armour, and mount his steed, which will carry him to his destined goal. Furious at the shame thus put upon him, Gawain does as requested, and after an adventure at a mysterious chapel, where a Black Hand extinguishes the light, arrives the next night at a castle built on a causeway running out into the sea. At first he is gladly welcomed, as one expected, but when they see his face the folk disperse in dismay. Gawain is

left alone in a hall, wherein, on a richly draped bier, there lies a dead knight. A procession enters, and sings the vigils of the dead. Gawain is again left alone, and now he sees a Lance, fixed in a socket, which bleeds continuously into a silver cup. The King enters, greets him kindly, and bids him sit beside him at meat, when they are served by the Grail, without either sergeant or seneschal. After meat the King takes a broken sword, one half of which lay on the bier, and bids Gawain resolder it. This he fails to do, and the King tells him the quest on which he came thither cannot be achieved by him. He bids him ask what he will concerning the marvels he has seen, and Gawain asks of the Lance, Sword, and Dead Knight, but not of the Grail.

The Lance is that of Longinus with which he pierced the side of Christ, as He hung on the Cross. Sword and bier are connected with the curse of Logres. The King begins, weeping, to relate the tale, when Gawain falls fast asleep, and wakes in the morning to find himself on the seashore, his horse tied to a rock beside him. As he rides through the land he finds it clothed in verdure, and all the folk he meets bless and curse him, for by asking of the Lance he has in part restored their prosperity, but by his silence concerning the Grail he has failed to completely remove the curse.

(Here some MSS. insert the history of Joseph of Arimathea, and the Grail, an obvious interpolation, for if the King had really explained everything the object of Gawain's visit to the castle would have been fully achieved.) After this we are told that Gawain wanders long before returning to Britain, but his adventures are not recounted in detail, the story now dealing with those of his son.

As we have learnt the lad was stolen when quite a child, about five years old, and his early adventures are not related. We only hear that he was found by a maiden who made him of her household. His admission to knighthood, etc., is passed over, and we hear of his first warlike encounter, in which he is victorious; of his winning a shield of ivory and gold; and finally, in detail, of his keeping a ford, and fighting, unknown to himself, with his own father. A recognition follows, and Gawain and his son return to court where they are joyfully received. On the night of their arrival a swan appears, drawing a boat, in which is the body of a dead knight, smitten through with a lance, the fragment of which is still in the wound. With the body is a letter, saying that he who can remove the lance must undertake to avenge the knight, on penalty of being shamed as was Gurrehes, or Garahies (both names are used), in the meadow. As the knight in question has long been absent from court no one understands the allusion. The dead body is placed in a marble sarcophagus, and left in the palace hall, in view of all comers, but no one withdraws the lance. Garahies has, in truth, been the victim of a very unpleasant adventure. Coming one day to an apparently deserted castle, he had penetrated into an orchard, where in a tent he found a wounded knight, who greatly resented his intrusion. He was forced to fight with a dwarf knight, no bigger than 'a monkey on a greyhound,' by whom he was overthrown. He is given his choice, either of becoming a weaver for the benefit of the lord of the castle, returning in a year's time to fight once more with the dwarf, or losing his head at once. He chooses the second, and on his departure, is shamefully mocked by the folk

of whom the aforetime deserted castle is now full. On returning to court he is naturally very much incensed at the partial betrayal of his secret, and being alone with the dead body, extends his hand threateningly towards it, when, to his surprise, he finds the fragment of the lance in his grasp. Vowing he will not avenge the slain knight, he fixes the blade in a new haft, and places it among his spears. Perceiving his moodiness, Kay maliciously persuades Arthur to demand the reason of his nephew's ill humour, and Garahies is forced to recount the story to the assembled court, after which he declares he will no longer remain among them, and takes his departure. At the year's end he returns to the orchard, where this time he has better fortune, slaying both the dwarf and his lord, who would avenge him. Scarcely is the latter dead when a maiden appears upon the scene, and asks whence Garahies brought the spear he has used: 'tis that with which the best of knights was slain; now his slayer has been smitten in the same place, and by the same weapon. All unwitting, Garahies has, in truth, fulfilled the task of avenger. He accompanies the maiden to a castle, where he spends the night, and wakes in the morning at Arthur's court, in the very boat, drawn by the swan, in which the dead knight came to Glomorgan. The maiden explains that the slain man was King Brangemuer, son to Guingamor, and Queen Brangepart: he reigned over the isle where no mortal man dwells. Of the circumstances of his death nothing is told us.

The story now returns to Perceval,[1] taking up his adventures at the point of his departure from the Hermit.

[1] Berne 113, begins here, prefixing a few lines of introduction.

Here the majority of MSS. (three alone excepted),[1] tell how he meets a huntsman, who reproaches him with his failure at the Grail Castle. He next comes to a castle, at the door of which hangs a horn. Sounding it defiantly, the lord of the castle appears ready for battle. Perceval defeats him and sends him to Arthur. He next comes to a river, beyond which lies the Fisher King's castle. In a ruined palace he finds a maiden, who offering to take him across the river, attempts to drown him. Crossing in the ferry he forsakes the direct road, and reaches a castle, in the hall of which he finds a chessboard. The men play of their own accord, and Perceval, being beaten, is about to throw them into the moat, when a lovely maiden rises from the water and stays his hand. Perceval, enamoured of her beauty, prays her favours, which she will grant in return for the head of the white stag, which he will find in the park near by. In order to aid him in the chase, the lady lends him her brachet. Perceval has no difficulty in finding and killing the stag, but the dog being stolen by a 'pucele de malaire,' he is forced to fight with a knight in a tomb before she will return it to him. In the midst of the fight a second knight comes up, and taking both stag's head and brachet, rides off with them. Perceval, having got the better of the knight of the tomb, follows, but cannot overtake him.[2]

Here three MSS., B. N. 1453, Edinburgh, and Mons, and the edition of 1530, add a small group of adventures.

[1] B. N. 12,576, Edinburgh, and Mons.

[2] There are two distinct conclusions to this adventure. In one the knight disappears into the tomb, and Perceval sees no more of him; in the other, Perceval follows, finds a dwelling richly painted and decorated and learns his name, Séguin, or Saigremor.

Perceval meets a 'veneor,' who lodges him that night, but knows nothing concerning the Grail Castle. The next morning he meets a valet, pursued by a knight, who slays him before Perceval's eyes. Refusing to explain the reason of his conduct, Perceval fights with, and slays him. That night he lodges with a hermit, and the following morning meets the brother of the Red Knight, whom he slew at his first arrival at court. They part amicably, the old man telling Perceval he is in the neighbourhood of the Fisher King's castle. It was, in fact, his daughter who had robbed him of the brachet. Perceval misses the road to the castle, and the version falls into line with the other texts.

The hero now comes to a castle, where he first slays a lion, and then fights with, and overcomes, the owner, Abrioris de Brunes Mons, whom he sends captive to Arthur. He next slays a giant, giving his castle to a maiden who has been long imprisoned therein. After this, he fights with the White Knight of the Ford Amorous, and subsequently with Gawain's son, who on learning who Perceval is yields to him, giving his own name as Guinglain. After parting from Guinglain, Perceval comes to Biaurepaire, where Blancheflor receives him gladly. She would fain be wedded by him at once, but Perceval explains that he has too much on hand to remain more than three days, at the expiration of which time he departs, to the great grief of the maiden and her barons. Riding on a lonely road, Perceval meets a knight accompanied by a maiden of incredible ugliness; and, unable to conceal his amusement, is obliged to fight with the knight, whom he conquers and sends to Arthur. The two remain at court, and the lady was the most lovely maiden in the world.

Perceval now finds himself to his surprise at his mother's 'manoir,' where he is warmly welcomed by his sister (of whom Chrétien knows nothing). The two visit a hermit uncle, here said to be brother to the father, not to the mother. Perceval confesses, and recounts his adventures, the summary of which does not agree with the text. He spends one more night in his old home, and then, to his sister's great grief, leaves her. He comes to a fair castle, peopled by none but maidens, of the same age and rank; 'tis the 'Maidens' Castle,' for they alone built it, no mason laid hand to it. Perceval is well entertained, and goes to sleep in a richly appointed bed, but on waking finds himself under an oak-tree, in a meadow, with no sign of habitation near. He then comes to a valley, where he finds the knight who has carried off stag's head and brachet, and after a sharp conflict, regains both. The knight's name is Garsalas, and he is half-brother to the knight of the tomb. Leaving him to find his way to Arthur's court, Perceval rides on, and meets first a white mule, and then a maiden pursuing it. The two ride together for some time till it grows very dark, and the maiden disappears. A great light is seen in the distance, followed by a heavy storm. Perceval spends the night in the forest, and the next morning again meets the lady of the mule, who explains that she had left him for fear of her lover, who had made her promise to ride with no other knight. The light Perceval had seen came from the Grail, the Fisher King was in the forest, he carries it with him wherever he goes, as the sight of it preserves from mortal sin. She may tell him no more concerning Grail or Lance, but lends him her mule and ring, by means of which he may safely reach the Grail Castle. With their

aid Perceval crosses the bridge of glass, and meets on the other side a knight, Briols de la Forest arsée, who persuades him to attempt the crossing of the Bridge Perilous, and attend, if successful, the tourney at Chastel Orguellous. Perceval achieves the feat, thus proving himself the best knight in the world, and proves the victor at the tourney. He now continues his interrupted quest, but meeting the lady of the mule, she, learning that he has not already visited the Grail Castle, demands back mule and ring. Previous to meeting the lady, Perceval has a brief encounter with a treacherous knight, who, by a ruse, imprisons him in a tomb, but failing to make either mule or charger move for him, releases him, bidding him go to Mont Dolorous, and test the adventure of the pillar. Perceval, left without guidance, is now in despair, but a voice from a tree bids him put down the brachet, and follow where it shall lead. He does this, and speedily arrives at the castle of the chessboard, where he presents the stag's head to the lady, who acquits herself faithfully of her promise towards him.

On leaving her the next morning, Perceval fails to keep the direct road, and presently comes upon a knight hanging by his feet from a tree. He is Bagomedes, and has been thus maltreated by Kay and his comrades, who were returning from Mont Dolorous. They part the next morning, and we hear how Bagomedes betook himself to court, accused Kay, and fought an undecided conflict with him. The knights now agree to seek Perceval, and forty set out, headed by Gawain. The story follows the adventures of this latter. He first meets a lovely maiden, whose brother, a dwarf, is guardian of a magic shield, which none can carry if their 'amie' be not faithful to

them. The lady has long loved Gawain, whom she has never seen, and is overjoyed at learning his name. He accompanies her and her brother to their home, and subsequently goes, incognito, to a tourney, to which Idier, fis Nut, anxious to test the shield, has challenged Arthur. Gawain wins the prize of the tourney, being the only knight who can carry the shield through two successive jousts. He spends another night at the castle, and then leaves, to the great regret of brother and sister. He next meets a pensive knight, whose love has been carried off, and rescues her. After this he falls in with his son, Guinglain, who is seeking him on behalf of Arthur, against whom King Carras, of Recesse, and his brother Claudas de la Deserte are waging war. Gawain returns to court, and assists Arthur to bring the campaign to a successful conclusion.

The story now returns to Perceval, who, after parting from Bagomedes, finds a child on a tree, who counsels him to go to Mont Dolorous, but will tell him nothing more. Perceval follows his advice, and achieves the adventure, fastening his steed to the pillar, a feat in which none but the most valiant knights can succeed. He meets a maiden, who recounts to him the history of the pillar. It was founded by Merlin, whose daughter she is. Leaving her, Perceval sees a tree covered with fairy lights, comes to the chapel of the Black Hand, and finally reaches the Grail Castle, where the King receives him joyfully. The Grail procession passes before him, and he is bidden to essay the resoldering of the broken sword (of which there was no word in Chrétien). He does this with only partial success, a small crack being left. The King, however, after having told him he has not yet done sufficient to

achieve the quest, embraces him, and hails him as lord of his house.[1]

Here Wauchier ends. It will be noted that his Grail scene is no real conclusion to that of Chrétien, there being no mention of the question, on which originally such stress was laid, nor of the Fisher King's father.

[1] Berne 113 adds a conclusion, in which, after Perceval has said he was born at Sinadon, and is son to Alain li Gros, the Grail king tells him he is his grandfather. This appears to be borrowed from Borron, and inasmuch as Wauchier has given no previous sign of being familiar with this version of the Grail story, I cannot consider the passage as due to him.

CHAPTER I

THE TEXTS

BEFORE entering into a critical investigation of the Perceval legend we must, as an indispensable preliminary, acquaint ourselves with the texts in which that legend is enshrined. We must, as we approach each branch of our subject, ask in what form that branch has come down to us: whether it be in prose or verse; whether solidified, as it were, by the agency of print, into editions more or less critical, or still in the uncertain stage of individual MSS. not yet collated and compared. In either case it must be our task to examine, if it be possible, every extant version of our story, and with the results thus gained before us to draw our conclusions from their collective testimony.

That at the head of such an investigation we must place the *Perceval*, or *Conte del Graal*, of Chrétien de Troyes, is obvious. Whatever may be our individual opinion as to the merits of the poet, or the literary position to be assigned to him, the work bearing his name is at once the most imposing monument of the cycle, and a romance the genesis and development of which it becomes increasingly necessary to ascertain.

The texts in which the *Perceval* has been transmitted to us number in all twenty-one; they consist of sixteen MSS., one printed edition (the prose of 1530), and four translations, the German text of Wisse and Colin, the Scandi-

navian abridgment, the version contained in the Dutch *Lancelot*, and two Flemish fragments.[1]

The MSS. are distributed as follows: nine are in France, of which seven are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; one in the library of the École de Médecine at Montpellier; and one at Clermont-Ferrand; two are in the University Library at Berne; one in the Riccardiana Library at Florence; one at Mons; and three in Great Britain, one being in the British Museum, one in the Heralds' College, and one in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

The following is a detailed description of these texts:—

PARIS 12,576. Early thirteenth century, 261 folios of three columns, each containing 40 to 42 lines. This MS. is complete, and, moreover, is the only one which contains the continuation by Gerbert[2] in its perfect form (folios 152 *vo*-219). The text it represents is an exceedingly good one, clear, coherent, and practically free from later inter-

[1] As there are two MSS. of the German translation, and four of the Icelandic, the number of the existing MS. versions of the *Perceval* is really twenty-two.

[2] The Perceval MS. used by Borel in his *Trésor d'Antiquités Gauloises et Françoises* (Paris, 1655) must have contained the Gerbert section. Borel says it was by 'Manecier'; thus it was complete, as Manessier only names himself in the concluding lines, and that it numbered 60,000 verses, a length only attained by 12,576. At the same time it was not this MS., or Nouv. Acq. 6614, as it contained the line '*qui ce riche roman lira*' (*dira*), the concluding line of a passage only found in the group represented by 12,577. Borel used the MS. very freely, though he occasionally misread the text; it was a MS. of the longer redaction, for he gives Gawain's words on hearing of his sister's marriage to Guiromelans,

'*coment si m'a mon oncle fet*
si grande honte e si grand let.'

It contained the *Carados* section, as he quotes the four lines descriptive

polations: the fifteen lines relating the breaking of the Grail sword in the fight with l'Orgillos is the only passage of the kind I have detected. The Manessier section shows some slight variations from the usual text, clearly due to the desire of the copyist to harmonise the incidents affected with the version of Gerbert. Thus the smith whom Perceval visits on his way to defend Blancheflor from Arides is not Trebuchet but his son, who recognises Perceval's sword as having been reforged by his father. Again, both the fiend who masquerades as Blancheflor and that lady herself are made to refer to the fact that she is Perceval's wife, and not merely his 'amie,' as in the usual version. These are precisely the points in which a careful copyist, having Gerbert's work before him, might be expected to modify his text. No other MS. has a trace of such readings. This text omits the incident of the huntsman who upbraids Perceval for his failure to ask the Grail question.

PARIS 12,577. A very well-written and finely-illuminated fourteenth century text, consisting of 272 folios, with two columns of 45 lines to the page. There are two lacunæ, one between folios 194-5, recounting the arrival at court of Bagomedes, and his fight with Kex; the other on folio 212, between Perceval's leaving the mysterious chapel and meeting the maiden who directs him to the Grail Castle.

of the revelry in the tower where the queen is imprisoned. There are lines taken from the adventure with the sister of Brandelis, Gawain's visit to the Grail Castle, the story of the Dead Knight in the boat, and Perceval's fight with the Black Hand, all indicative of the completeness of the version. According to Borel, it belonged to M. de Masnau, Councillor of Toulouse, and as it represents a text apparently differing from any we now possess, it would be most interesting to know if it cannot be traced.

The characteristic feature of this MS. is the presence of a group of Gawain adventures, relating the achievement of the Mont Esclaire quest, and the winning of the sword 'as estranges renges' (folios 63 *vo*-81), only found in one other MS., and in the prose of 1530.[1] In common with other MSS. of the same group, 12,577 has retained some interesting references to the original 'conte' of which the tales formed part. At the same time the text represented is clearly later than that of 12,576; it contains the Joseph of Arimathea interpolation in the second Gawain-Grail visit, and also gives another ending to Perceval's fight with the Knight of the Tomb. Here he follows his flying foe into his dwelling, the decorations of which are fully described, and asks his name, which he is told is Saigremor! When Perceval tells the story of the fight, which he does twice, once to Garsalas, and again to the lady of the chessboard, he does so in each instance in accordance with the usual version. Thus the above is clearly an addition. Of its group, 12,577 is the best representative.

PARIS 1429. Thirteenth century, consisting of 380 folios, two columns of 30 lines to the page. This MS. is imperfect at beginning and end. The entire front page is missing, save fifteen lines of column 1, of which five only are complete. The writing of the first page appears to differ from that of the body of the MS. The poem commences with line 1329 of Potvin's edition, and concludes with line 45,234; there is also a lacuna between folios 10-11, and another between 319-20. As a whole this MS. gives the same text as 12,577

[1] These adventures occur after Gawain's fight with Guiromelans, and in the section recounting his first visit to the Grail Castle, peculiar to the longer redaction. Cf. pp. 13-14.

(omitting, of course, the Gawain adventures), but calls the Knight of the Tomb Séguin, instead of Saigremor. At the commencement of the Chastel Orguellous adventure, however, the text reverts to the version of 12,576, here very distinct from 12,577. This is not a very good text, being carelessly written, lines frequently omitted, and words misread. These three MSS. all follow the longer redaction, and give two Gawain-Grail visits.[1]

PARIS 1453. Fourteenth century, numbering 288 folios of two columns, 36 to 37 lines to column. This MS. is defective at beginning and end, commencing with line 17 of Potvin's edition, and ending with line 45,283; with these exceptions it is complete, showing no lacunæ. This text follows the shorter redaction, and omits, as a rule, the references to source. A peculiarity of the MS., which I have found nowhere else, is that it names Perceval from the time of his first visit to Arthur's court; whereas, as a rule, his name is not given till after he has left the Grail Castle. After folio 137 we find a group of *Perceval* adventures, only found in two other MSS., and in the prose of 1530 (Potvin, 22,888-23,270).[2] These adventures, which are always very briefly told, have little interest, and I am inclined to look upon them as an interpolation; it is worthy of note that when Perceval visits his hermit uncle, and relates his experiences, they are never in any way alluded to. This text agrees most closely with the Mons MS., but is a better version; it is well written, excepting towards the end, where it becomes careless.

[1] This is the MS. (Bibl. du Roi, 7523) from which Abbé Delarue quotes the reference to Fescamp, *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes*, vol. ii. p. 240.

[2] Cf. pp. 21-22.

PARIS 794. This text forms part of the Codex generally referred to as the 'Cangé' MS., of which it occupies the last 72 folios.[1] The writing is of the thirteenth century, and there are three columns of 44 lines to the page. It is incomplete, breaking off at line 22,696 of Potvin's edition: *Ice Percevax desconforte.* After line 10,601 (Potvin) is inserted the rubric *Explycyt Percevax le viel,* thus distinguishing Chrétien's poem from the continuation. This MS. gives the shortened redaction, omitting the first Gawain-Grail visit, and abridging sensibly throughout. There are two small lacunæ on folios 383 and 401. The account of Joseph of Arimathea is interpolated in the Gawain-Grail quest. The special peculiarities of this MS. are the insertion of a passage of seventeen lines in Perceval's interview with the knights, when the leader of the party asks the boy's name (folio 362), and the agreement of the two accounts of Gawain's adventure with the sister of Brandelis. As a rule, they give entirely different versions of the story. This text is, on the whole, a good one, and appears to represent a position midway between that of 12,576 and 12,577.

PARIS 1450. A thirteenth century text, occupying 30 folios of a miscellaneous collection of romances. It is very closely written in three columns of 60 lines to the page. It is not always easy to decipher, and the copyist seems frequently to have misunderstood his text. It is incomplete, beginning with line 1283, and ending with line 11,593. It presents, however, features of great interest, giving a unique version of Gawain's confession previous to his combat with Guiromelans, and the grief of his sister

[1] Folios 361-433, not 423, as given in Waitz's study.

Clarissans. Both passages are of great length, and most characteristic in style. I believe that this MS., hitherto practically neglected, will prove to be of great value for the reconstruction of this section of the poem.

PARIS, NOUVELLE ACQUISITION, 6614. Thirteenth century, 167 folios, three columns of 40 to 42 lines to the column. The MS. is very fragmentary, only commencing in the middle of Gawain's adventure with the sister of the King of Escavalon, line 7269 of Potvin's edition. The whole of Manessier is missing, and there are besides other lacunæ. Thus there is a folio missing between 13 and 14, two folios between 80 and 81, and a very extensive lacuna after 77, covering all between the latter part of the adventure of the Dead Knight in the boat, and Perceval's departure from Blancheflor, a loss of over 8000 lines. But the MS. when complete must have been a duplicate of 12,576, and, happily, it has preserved the Gerbert section almost intact. There is nothing missing to the end of the *Luite Tristran*, but the concluding passage of this, and the opening of Perceval's adventure with Gornemans and his sons (1 folio only), have been lost. The adventure at the castle of Leander is imperfect, and the MS. ends in the middle of Gawain's parting from the maiden of the tent, folio 204 of 12,576. We have thus a second text for by far the greater part of this most interesting section. The two agree very closely, the handwriting is of the same period, but the dialect differs, 12,576 frequently employs the forms 'chi,' 'chité,' while 6614 uses the ordinary 'ci.' The text, imperfect as it is, is a valuable addition to our list of *Perceval* MSS.[1]

[1] This text appears to have been unaccountably overlooked. It was

MONTPELLIER, 'Ecole de Médecine,' 249. This text is of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (probably end of thirteenth). It is complete, reckoning 295 folios, in two columns each of 40 lines. It represents the longer redaction, but the concluding passage of section I *a*. is given in a very compressed and confused manner, and can only be understood by reference to 12,576, of which it is an incorrect and elliptic version. As a whole, this MS. agrees closely with Paris, 1429, but in the adventure of the knight in the tomb it gives the name as Saigremor, thus agreeing with 12,577. This text has two pseudo-

purchased in 1895, and M. Gaston Paris contributed a note to the *Romania*, in which he made public the fact that it was the 'twin' of 12,576, and contained the 'Gerbert' section, but no one appears to have devoted further attention to it. I owe my knowledge of its existence to M. Paul Meyer, who drew my attention to the note in *Romania*. I would here make a slight correction in that note: there are not three quires missing, as there stated, but only a little over two, 18 folios instead of 24. The error is due to the fact that quire iv. is wrongly numbered, and in different figures to those following; counting back from vi. or vii. the numbers are quite right, and correspond exactly with 12,576. Were three quires lacking the MS. must have contained more than the ordinary 'Chrétien' text, yet not enough for either the *Bliocadrans* or the *Elucidation*. The fragmentary condition of the text is evidently due to its having been rescued from the hands of binders, who were cutting it up for use; several folios have lost the outer column, and lower margin, and slips have been recovered and pasted in at the beginning and end of the volume. Those at the end are not correctly placed, the owner, apparently, not being very familiar with the text; thus 168 is rightly placed at the end, as it is a fragment of Manessier; but 169, 170, and 171 are all wrong, the two first belong to Perceval's first visit to Biaurepaire, and should be turned over, and their position with regard to each other reversed. 171 is a part of the interview with the knights in the forest, and belongs to quite the beginning of the poem.

historic allusions, of interest in classifying the versions.—In speaking of the helmet of Guiromelans, folio 65 *vo.*, it says the precious stones

> 'valoient puille e la reaume
> qui soutenir souloit Guillaume.'

Again in recording the details of the knighting of Carados, we are told of his mantle

> 'se l'afublast Kalles martiaus
> le ior que il fu coronez
> si en fust il mult hennorez.'

This text, though not bad in itself, is very carelessly copied.

CLERMONT-FERRAND 248. A thirteenth century MS., only representing Chrétien's part of the poem, and that not completely, the concluding line being 10,579. It is a small octavo of 152 folios, with one column of 30 lines to the page. It is clearly written, and there are no lacunæ, though the scribe has occasionally omitted words and phrases. The peculiarity of this MS. is the form of the proper names, Artus being written Herthus[1] throughout, and Gauvain, where given in full (it is generally written G.), Gagain and Gaugain.

This completes the list of *Perceval* MSS. in France: the two Swiss texts are Berne 113 and 354.

BERNE 113.[2] A thirteenth century text, occupying 28 folios of a miscellaneous collection. It is written in a small clear hand, having three columns to the page, 57 to 60 lines to the column. This is a very interesting

[1] M. Paul Meyer informs me that this first is a Flemish form.

[2] Cf. Rochat 'Ueber ein unbekannter Percheval li Gallois.' Zürich, 1855.

version, the copyist, apparently, had only a portion of Wauchier's continuation before him, and has essayed, by means of a somewhat vague introduction, and a conclusion based upon Borron's work, to give to his copy the appearance of a complete and independent poem. It begins with the *Perceval* section (Potvin, 21,917),[1] giving the adventure of the reproachful huntsman, which is omitted by 12,576, Edinburgh, and Mons, but occurs in all the other versions. It extends to the end of Wauchier, and after re-soldering the sword Perceval asks concerning the Grail *qui on en sert.* The King hails him as his heir, and asks his parentage—he was born at Sinadon, and is son to Alain li Gros. The King[2] says he is his grandfather, Alain was his son, his mother was the sister of Joseph of Arimathea. The King dies after three days, and Perceval succeeds him as ruler of three kingdoms.

Apart from this conclusion the text shows few variants: the most noticeable is in the account of the tourney at Chastel Orguellous, where it follows, with some compression, the text of 12,576, which here offers a remarkably good and spirited version. The voice which directs Perceval to follow the brachet to the castle of the Chessboard is rather incongruously said to be that of *1 haut archangle grant.* There is a considerable lacuna between folios 112-113, extending from the combat be-

[1] The late M. Gaston Paris was of opinion that Wauchier's poem began with this line, and that the earlier section was the work of an unknown pseudo-Wauchier. We shall find, however, that both refer to the same authority as source, and I think the whole is by the same hand, but the work must be considered rather as a compilation from already existing stories than as an independent composition.

[2] Here the Fisher King appears to be Brons. Cf. note p. 26.

tween Bagomedes and Kex to Perceval's meeting with the lady on Mont Dolorous. The text, like that of 794, seems to represent an intermediate version.[1]

BERNE 354. This text represents Chrétien's poem only, which it gives to the end (line 10,601, Potvin) adding *Explicit li romans de Perceval*, thus corresponding with 794. It occupies 75 folios of an octavo MS., containing a number of episodic romances.[2] There are two columns to the page, 30 lines to the column. The writing is clear, but apparently somewhat later than that of 113. There are many omissions and corruptions in the text, which gives the impression of being a bad copy of a good original. It possesses no special variants.

FLORENCE, RICCARDIANA, 2943. A thirteenth century text, small octavo, 126 folios, with one column of 30 to 31 lines to the page. This only represents Chrétien's poem, which it gives, with numerous small lacunæ, to line 9977. Folios 101-112, inclusive, are in an earlier writing, and from the arrangement of 100 *vo.* it is clear that the rest of the MS. was written with the view of supplying the lost portions of the older text. The second scribe evidently had no knowledge of the poem, for he misreads, and wrongly divides, words, often making absolute nonsense of his text. He has been corrected on the margin, in parts, by another and later hand.[3]

[1] This MS. also contains a fragment of the *Perlesvaus*.

[2] This is a very interesting collection, containing among other poems the *Chevalier à l'Épée*, the *Mule sans frein*, and the *Folie Tristan*.

[3] This MS. is catalogued under the title of 'Roman de la Curne,'

Mons. This MS. is well known through the medium of M. Potvin's edition, and I have not so far examined the original. The noteworthy point in this version is the presence of practically two distinct prologues to the story, neither of which can claim to be the work of Chrétien. The first is printed under the title of *Elucidation* in the prose of 1530, which also gives a very abridged version of the second. It is also found in the German translation. This first relates more especially to the Grail. The second treats of the death of Perceval's father, and the flight into the woods of the widow with her child. This prologue is only found in one other MS. Besides this, 'Mons' relates the incident of the breaking of the Grail sword at considerable length, over 200 lines. On the whole the text is a very poor one, all the passages, relative to the source, and important for criticism,[1] have been omitted, and in two instances the text has been drastically altered, no doubt in the supposed interests of clearness. The proper names, also, are extremely defective; sometimes the version

or 'Roman de Filipo di Fiandria,' the first apparently from the name of M. la Curne de Sainte Palaye, who first drew attention to it in 1739. I had thus some difficulty in identifying the text, and am indebted to Professor Rajna for his assistance in the matter, also for kindly examining the MS., and giving me the advantage of his opinion as to the proper date. I subsequently examined the notes, made by la Curne (Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Moreau, 1658), and found that he considered the body of the MS. to be in a handwriting of the twelfth century, and the folios 101-112 to be in a rather later hand, but from the fact that the latter part of 100 *vo* is written in two parallel lines so as to make it correspond with the first line of 101, it is clear that the reverse is the case. So far as the handwriting is a guide this appears to be the oldest extant text of the *Perceval*.

[1] This was pointed out by M. Gaston Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. xxx. p. 27.

given is absolutely wrong, as in the case of the magician of the *Carados* story, where Garahies has been substituted for the Eliaurés of all the other versions; in other cases the form is evidently due to a misreading, as when we have 'roïne de bone part' for 'roïne Brangepart,' and 'roïne Damelehaut' for 'Dame de Malehaut.' It is most unfortunate that so unreliable a text should be the only generally available version of the *Perceval.*

There remains what we may call the 'insular'[1] group of texts, three MSS. of remarkable value and interest, of which two are in London and one in Edinburgh. One and all of these differ alike from each other and from any of the continental versions. The most important is the recently acquired

British Museum Add. 36,614, purchased at the Ashburnham sale, and originally forming part of the Barrois collection. The text belongs to the latter half of the thirteenth century and consists of 268 folios of two columns, 30 lines to the column. It concludes with line 34,934 (Potvin) *e Perceval se reconforte*, that is, unless I am mistaken, with the concluding line of Wauchier's poem. The MS. begins with the ordinary prologue, *ki petit seme*, etc., and appears originally to have continued the poem in the usual form, *ce fu el tans*, etc.; but at a very early stage, probably only a few years after it was first

[1] I only use this word in the present sense, as denoting the position of the MSS., not their derivation: the Heralds' College MS., indeed, appears to have been written in England, but M. Paul Meyer, to whom I submitted a photograph of the Edinburgh text, considers this latter to have been written in France; as also the British Museum MS.

written, the first folio was treated with acid, the lines immediately following the prologue obliterated and replaced by the second prologue of the Mons MS., the history of Bliocadrans.[1] Several pages were thus inserted between the first and following folios, the last containing only one column on either side, and the lines being divided in half to make them space out. The text of the prologue agrees in all essentials with that of Mons but the wording is not precisely the same, and there are, moreover, two lines in which the nobles promise to keep the lands for the boy which are lacking in Mons, thus the one MS. cannot be a copy of the other. Further, this MS. contains the passage as to the boy's name, only found in Paris, 794, and also agrees with that text in giving but one version of the adventure with Brandelis' sister. On the other hand, in the account of the arrival of Guiromelans,[2] it gives the text of 12,576, *i.e.* 70 lines against the 10 of 794. Again it includes the passages as to the source found in the 12,577 group, adding one only found in the Edinburgh MS. and also giving a unique reference to Bleheris.[3] The MS. has at one time been compared with 794, under the

[1] I had the advantage of going through this MS. with Dr. Warner, and Mr. J. A. Herbert of the MS. Department has since re-examined it: the view given above is that finally arrived at by the Museum authorities. The writing changes more than once, *e.g.* there is a decided change of hand after line 10,601, that is at the end of Chrétien's poem, but in Dr. Warner's opinion there is no great interval of time between any of the scribes.

[2] I do not quote the passage referred to here, as I shall have occasion later to enter fully into the question of the concluding sections of this adventure, when I propose to give extracts from several versions.

[3] Cf. my article on the subject, *Romania*, vol. xxxiv. p. 100.

title of 'Du Cangé' MS., as there are pencil notes to that effect on folio 153 *vo* and on 170 *vo* where the end of the Paris MS. is noted.[1] At the conclusion of the MS. there is a drawing of the arms of Flanders, and the lion is repeated on the margin of folio 107.* These drawings appear to be of later date, but they would seem to indicate that at one time or another the MS. belonged to a member of that house. The text is good throughout, and as will be seen from the above remarks, of the highest value for critical purposes.

HERALDS' COLLEGE, ARUNDEL, 14. This text is of the early fourteenth century and occupies 65 folios (156-221) of a collection of romances. It is very well written in two columns of 34 lines to the page, but only extends to line 10,595, thus not quite completing Chrétien's poem. The points of interest are the spelling of the proper names which are given in distinctly English form: Arthur, Gawein or Gawain, Key or Kai, and the fact that it gives the breaking of the Grail sword at great length, 420 lines against the 223 of Mons.[2]

EDINBURGH, ADVOCATES' LIBRARY. This MS. belongs to the early part of the thirteenth century; the handwriting, which appears to be the same throughout, closely resembles

[1] The fact that the end of the MS. is noted conclusively identifies the text as the one we know, but the first reference does not agree with the numbering of 794.

[2] Dr. Warner thinks this MS. was probably written in England. M. Potvin does not seem to have been aware of this interesting variant as he makes no remark upon it. I shall have occasion to go fully into the subject in discussing the visit to the Grail Castle.

that of 12,576. It consists of 262 folios of two columns, 40 lines to the column, but is unfortunately very imperfect. It only begins with line 6871 [1] and ends in the middle of the fight between Boort and Lionel, the last page being practically illegible. There is further a lacuna extending from the end of the Chastel Orguellous adventure to the middle of the adventure of Garahies and the Dead Knight in the boat, a loss of about 2500 lines; and two shorter gaps, one on folio 31, another between 102-103. On the whole, counting other pages which have been torn, the deficit cannot be less than 10,000 lines. At the same time the text is of unusual interest, as it includes not only the *Gawain* section of 12,577 but also the *Perceval* adventures of Mons and 1453. These are not found together in any other MS., but are both included in the prose of 1530. It would thus seem that the source of this last must have been a MS. similar to that of Edinburgh. Further, while containing, as we have seen, the section peculiar to 12,577, it agrees with 1429 in the account of Chastel Orguellous and the *Carados* story, and contains the pseudo-historic allusions peculiar to Montpellier. It thus seems probable that it may derive directly from the parent MS. of this group. It also retains a passage, at the conclusion of the Brun de Branlant story, which is only found in Add. 36,614. Considering the date of the MS. and the character of the text, it is most unfortunate that so large a section, and that in precisely the portion of the poem where most interesting indications of source are to be looked for, should be missing. The text is not a well-written one, the

[1] M. Potvin remarks, line 6875, '*c'est ici que s'arrête le MS. d'Edimbourg*'!

copyist often appears to have been in doubt as to the reading before him.[1]

The printed versions will not occupy us very long, the most important is, of course, THE EDITION OF 1530. This is too well known to require a detailed description; it was printed in Paris by Jehan Longis, Jehan Sainct Denis and Galiot du Pré. The text, as I have said above, corresponds most closely to that of the Edinburgh MS., but in addition certain copies include, under the title of *Elucidation*, a condensed version of the two prologues of Mons: the first does not include the recital of the seven Branches of the Grail, the second concludes with the death of Bliocadrans, making no mention of the birth of the hero or his mother's flight to the woods. The sheet on which this section is printed is lettered AA. and was clearly added, as an afterthought, to the later copies of the edition: it is not included in the copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale,[2] but is found in those of the British Museum and the Dobrée collection at Nantes. It must also have been in the copy used by M. Potvin, of which, however, he gives no details.

THE GERMAN TRANSLATION OF WISSE AND COLIN. This is a fourteenth century translation of the text of Wauchier and Manessier, executed by two Alsatians, Claus Wisse and Philippe Colin, with the object of bringing the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach into harmony with the better

[1] This text gives the name of Arthur's mother as Iverne, an interesting form, as inverted it corresponds to the Arnive of the *Parzival*.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. A. W. Pollard for the details relating to the British Museum copy, and to M. Polain for information as to the Dobrée collection.

known French text. Two MSS. of this translation exist, one, the original, at Donaueschingen, the other, a copy of the latter part of the first, in the Casanatense Library at Rome. The version has suffered some alteration in the attempt to adapt it, more or less, to Wolfram's poem; but on the whole it follows the original faithfully, and that original must have been a text corresponding closely with that of 12,576. At the same time the MS. probably differed from the Paris text, as between Books II. and III. of Wolfram's poem, that is between the account of the feats and death of Gamuret, Parzival's father, and the birth of the hero we find inserted as prologue the *Elucidation* of 1530 and the Mons MS., but in the form followed by the first, *i.e.* without the enumeration of the seven Branches of the Grail story. Thus the translator's source probably contained this addition. The text was edited from the original MS. by Karl Schorbach in 1888, and is of decided value, being an excellent translation of a good original.[1]

THE DUTCH VERSION. This is found in the collection of Arthurian romances known as the Dutch *Lancelot* and published by M. Jonckbloet in 1850. The text is mainly a verse rendering of the latter part of the prose *Lancelot* including the *Queste* and *Mort Artus*, but contains also a group of episodic romances, some of which are found nowhere else. In the middle of the *Lancelot*, at the point where Perceval returns to court after his fight with Hector,

[1] It will thus be seen that for the double prologue of Mons we have in each case three authorities, the Mons MS. and the 1530 edition giving both; the Wisse-Colin translation for the *Elucidation*, and the British Museum text for the *Bliocadrans*. Whether the two were originally connected it is now difficult to determine, my own opinion is that they were not.

the translator suddenly takes up the text of Chrétien's *Perceval* and continues it (with some interludes not found in the ordinary text) for upwards of 5600 lines, following the longer redaction and ending with the combat between Gawain, Guigambrésil, and Disnadares. Here the combat really takes place and is decided in favour of Gawain[1] by virtue of his mysterious increase of strength. This version is of great interest both on account of its intrinsic merit, and also because it represents no known French text.

THE ICELANDIC '*Parcival*' AND '*Valversthattr.*' Of this abridgment four MSS. are extant, one at Stockholm, two at Copenhagen, and one in the British Museum. The text corresponds with Chrétien's poem, but is so condensed a version as to be of little value for critical purposes. The translator appears only to have known Chrétien's poem but adds a conclusion to the '*Perceval*' adventures, bringing the hero, after the visit to the Hermit, back to Blancheflor, whom he weds and over whose land he rules. Thus the later '*Gawain*' adventures are separated from the first and headed '*Valversthattr.*' The text was edited by Professor Kolbing in 1872.[2]

THE FLEMISH FRAGMENTS. Two fragments published

[1] I am by no means sure that this may not represent the original version. The submission of the two knights to Arthur is much better motived if they have really been vanquished than if the quarrel has merely been amicably arranged. Also the miraculous increase in Gawain's strength is more to the point here, where it enables him successfully to engage two adversaries at once, than where it is only employed against one. Surely Gawain was looked upon as of sufficient valour to overcome any one knight by natural and unaided prowess.

[2] 'Riddarasögur, Strassburg,' 1872.

by Van Veerdeghem in 1890. The first extends from the middle of the tourney at Tintaguel to the discovery of Gawain with the lady of Escavalon: this text differs from that of the Dutch version. The second takes up at the end of the Escavalon adventure with Gawain's promise to seek the spear, here agreeing closely with the Dutch, and ends with the last words of the Hermit's admonition to Perceval that he shall keep secret the prayer he has taught him:

'*Dat hi die namen niet en soude*
Noemen in water noch in woude,'

which corresponds to no French text. The Dutch translation omits this episode altogether, only giving the *Gawain* section.

These, then, are the materials on which we must base our examination into the origin and development of Chrétien's poem. Is it possible, we may ask, to arrange them in any definite order, and to ascertain, more or less accurately, the relation in which they stand to each other? No less an authority than M. Paul Meyer has expressed to me his conviction that a really satisfactory and scientific classification of the *Perceval* MSS. is a matter of impossibility. The text varies so hopelessly, even in MSS. which from their contents might reasonably be supposed to possess a common derivation. I do not, therefore, propose to make any attempt at establishing a critical text, but it does appear to me that the MS. contents afford a guide to a certain preliminary grouping, which in the absence of more advanced and scientific analysis may be accepted as a basis for further work.

Thus we have in the texts before us two main redac-

tions, a longer and a shorter: we have also three, what we may call primary, variants—the breaking of the Grail sword; a group of *Gawain*, and a smaller group of *Perceval* adventures. There are also what we may call secondary variants, such as the two endings to the Knight in the Tomb, the two introductions to the *Chastel Orguellous* story, and two varying accounts of the maiden who attempts to drown Perceval; these, however, are of less importance, and will be found generally to fall in with the primary group.

The most important step is to determine which of the two redactions we are to consider representative of the original form of the story. Hitherto the opinion generally received has been that the shorter form is the earlier. This view appears to have arisen, not from a careful comparison of the versions, for that has hardly been attempted, but from the very general, and not unnatural, idea that the repetition of the Gawain-Grail visit, a feature of the longer form, could not have been the work of any intelligent composer, but must have been due to a later transcriber. In the lack of a critical text the inherent probability of this view has caused it to pass practically without question.

Thus the only study which, so far, has attempted to deal with the original texts, Waitz's *Die Fortsetzungen von Chrestiens Perceval le Gallois*[1] starts from the assumed standpoint of the priority of the shorter redaction, and places at the head of the list the version of 794. A close examination of all the texts (the study referred to only deals with the Paris MSS.) has led me to an entirely different conclusion. At the same time the fact that a

[1] Strassburg, 1890.

certain definite theory as to the inter-relation of the texts has been advanced furnishes us with a useful standard of comparison.

The difference between the two redactions may be summarised as follows: both, though marked by varieties of detail, go together up to the moment of Gawain's combat with Guiromelans and Clarissans' despairing appeal to her brother. In the longer redaction Gawain refuses to renounce the combat unless his adversary withdraws the accusation he has made against him, but will allow him till the morrow to decide. Arthur, however, determines to yield to his niece's prayer, and permit the marriage. Thus when Gawain arrives ready armed to resume the combat, he is met by Kex, who informs him that the ceremony is taking place in the minster. Highly indignant at what he, not unnaturally, considers an insult, Gawain departs, vowing he will not return to court till his uncle, with three thousand knights, shall come to seek him.

(Here follows, in certain MSS., the group of adventures to which reference has been already made.)

In all the texts of redaction I. Gawain now bethinks him of his vow to seek the Bleeding Lance, and failing to find it, to accept the challenge of Guigambrésil: the year's respite is nearly at an end. He reaches the Grail Castle, but falls asleep, and fails to learn the secret of its marvels. He then meets a knight, Disnadares, who has a grievance against Gawain. The two fight; and finally deciding that the victor will have little honour in the absence of witnesses to their combat, defer the settlement of the quarrel to a future meeting. Gawain continues on his way to Escavalon, where he declares, having failed to

find the Lance, he is ready to fulfil his pledge to Guigambrésil. Details of the combat are being arranged, when Disnadares, who has followed Gawain, arrives on the scene, and claims his right. The King of Escavalon refers the question to his barons, who decide that Gawain must fight with the two at once. A valet of Arthur's household, who is at the court, hearing this, departs to warn his lord of the danger threatening his nephew. Arthur, who is in the neighbourhood, having set out to seek Gawain, arrives on the scene, and matters are finally settled as in the extract given below from 12,576.

'Mesire Gauvain fait grant joie,
avis li est que voler doie
lues qu'il voit son oncle le roi,
qui tost fera, si con je croi,
de sa bataille faire pès
dont li doi baron sont engrès.
si tost com li rois fu venus,
en la cort fu bel recheüs ;
a Escavalon honorez
fu mult, se croire le volez.
lors veïssiez les barons traire
a une part pour la pès faire.
Guigambrésils, Disnadarès,
qui tant part estoient engrès
de combatre, sont apelé
au conseil, s'a on tant parlé
de la pais, tant furent proié
que de leur gré ont ontroié
la pais, e andui se sont mis
del tot el roi, ce m'est avis,
e el conseil ses conpaignons.
li conseus fu hastieus e bons,

car une niece avoit li rois
que Guigambrésil ot manois :
Tancree avoit non la petite,
de biaute e de sens parfite ;
espouser li fist par acorde,
e toute la cors s'i acorde
car chascuns fu liez pour la pès.
e sachiez que Disnadarès
a liement Beatris prise,
qui mult fu plaine de franchise ;
niece ert le roi, si li dona ;
el mont plus bele de li n'a.
el palais en firent lor noces,
s'i ot assez mitres e croces
e chevaliers e autre gent
qui sont lié de l'acordement.
einsi fu fait par la devise
le roi qui Bretaigne iustise ;
si home lige cil devinrent,[1]
andui de lui lor teres tinrent.
si com vus di, s'est aquitez
mesire Gauvain, c'est vertez,
del sairement que il ot fait
la ou on li fist le mesfait
en la tor avec la pucele,
ceste aventure li fu bele,
car Guigambrésil l'en quita,
si qu'ainc puis de rien nel reta.'

B. N. 12,576, fo. 44 *vo.*

The shorter redaction represents Gawain as yielding to the prayer of his sister; the marriage takes place with his consent; and there is no word of his search for the Lance, his meeting with Disnadares, or the fight with Guigambrésil. The concluding passage is given below:

[1] Cf. note on Dutch version, p. 45.

'par aus ·III· finent la meslee
e ont l'acorde porparlee,
si que bien le sevent e voient
cil qui mult grant joie en avoient.
li conroi qui les oz garderent
isnelement se desarmerent
ansamble vienent les dui ost,
s'est li Grinomelant tantost
devenuz hom le roi sanz faille
que il fu fins de la bataille
e sa terre de lui reçut.
li rois l'onora mult e crut,
quant il sa niece lui otroie
Gauvain li vialt, e li l'an proie,
li rois li crut ses heritez
de ·II· mult nobiles cités,
l'une en Gales, Disnadaron,
ensi l'apelent li Breton,
l'autre li tiguen sor trante,[1]
e forteresces iusqu'a trante
e bors e viles .c.e plus
li dona li bon rois Artus.
Elies cil qui tint nasdire[2]
e maint autre ce ai oi dire
firent au roi Artus homage
une nièce de grant parage
avoit li rois vaillant e bele
nomée estoit la damoisele
par non Canete la petite
de totes biautés fu eslite
Guigambrésil celi dona
mult noblement la maria

[1] Here 1450 gives Nortigen, and 1453 Notigregan. I think there can be little doubt that the town referred to is Nottingham.

[2] 1450 has *Helye qui tint Dinasdire.*

hom redevint au roi iluec
e maint autre baron avec
de lui reçoivent qu'anqu' ils tienent
e tuit si lige home devienent.'

794, fo. 399 *vo.*

The lines which I have italicised appear to me to be absolutely fatal to the theory of the priority of this version. What, we may ask, is Guigambrésil, the devoted servant of the King of Escavalon, the avenger of his lord's death, doing at Arthur's court, his sworn 'man' and the husband of his niece? In this version he has never been mentioned from the moment of his return to Escavalon, too late to prevent the breach of the safeconduct he had sworn to Gawain. The combat between them was to take place at this last-named place, not at Arthur's court. In the longer redaction the events, which take place at Escavalon, are adequately motived; in the shorter they are inexplicable, Guigambrésil drops, as it were, from the clouds. The mention of Dinasdaron, and Dinasdire, with the intrusion of a mysterious Elie, or Helye, of whom nothing is recorded, is suggestive. It would indicate, I think, that the scribe had before him a text in which Dinasdares[1] was named, but having omitted all mention of his meeting with Gawain he replaced the name of the knight by that of the town. I therefore hold the longer redaction for the more primitive.

Now of the versions giving this redaction, which shall we select as the best representative of the text? It will scarcely have escaped the notice of any attentive reader of the preceding pages that there is one text to which all the other MSS., whether belonging to the longer or the shorter

[1] The spelling of this name is very capricious; the more general form is Disnadares, but it is also frequently written Dinasdares.

group, show a decided tendency to revert, *i.e.* the text placed at the head of my summary, Paris 12,576. This is not the longest text we possess, nor is it the shortest; it shows, as I remarked in the summary, very few individual peculiarities, the addition of a few lines describing the breaking of the Grail sword, and the omission of the reproachful huntsman, are the only two points in which it does not offer a content agreeing with practically all the MSS. What 12,576 possesses it may be said to possess in common with the main body of the texts; what it omits is very trifling. The especial note of the MS., as compared with the others, is its extreme coherence and clearness of detail; in the concluding passages of the *Chastel Merveilleus* section this superiority is especially noticeable; it is not too much to say that the other versions are often only to be understood by reference to this.

Taking, therefore, into consideration the individual merit of the version, the fact that its contents appear to represent the 'norm' of the texts, and the suggestive fact that other versions, even those of a different group, show a marked tendency to adopt its reading, I think we shall hardly go far wrong if we consider 12,576 as the best existing representative of the *Perceval* text.

With 12,576 we must group its duplicate Nouv. Acq. 6614, and the translation of Wisse and Colin; the agreement throughout this last is striking. This group I distinguish as A.

The other versions of the longer redaction, Paris 12,577 and 1429, Montpellier, and the Edinburgh MS., all show marked agreement. This is especially noticeable between 1429 and Montpellier, the harmony between them being really more consistent than between any other two of the texts. The Edinburgh MS., as we have seen, agrees not

only with the other three, but is the only existing text which can be held to represent the source of the edition of 1530, which must, therefore, be added to this group. This, as a whole, shows a later text, and one by no means free from interpolation; at the same time it has retained certain passages which undoubtedly formed part of the original text, but have been omitted in 12,576. I shall call this group C.

The shortened version, Paris 794, and the London Add. 36,614 undoubtedly go together, and I think represent a text midway between these two groups. They have certainly been abridged from a longer form, they are certainly not absolutely free from interpolation, but in many passages the reading of the text, and the form of the proper names, show a version intermediate between A and C. I should call this group B, and include in it Berne 113, and Paris 1450.

The final group is formed by Mons and Paris 1453. The version of these two, as we have seen, follows the shortened redaction, but includes a group of incidents found also in two members of the C group. There is also a certain difference in the two, Mons including the sword episode, and being preceded by a double prologue. Thus, though agreeing on the whole in the sections held in common, they do not correspond so consistently as do the members of the other groups. Yet as they decidedly agree rather with each other than with any other MS. it will be more convenient to class them together as D.

The MSS. of the Chrétien text alone as a rule incline to group B, with the exception of the Heralds' College text, which must derive from a source analogous to Mons.

It may be well to conclude this summary with a table showing the principal variants of the story, and the somewhat perplexing manner in which they are grouped :—

Elucidation.	Bliocadrans.	Breaking of Grail Sword.	Pieces returned to Grail King.	Longer Redaction.	Shorter Redaction.	Gawain Section.	Perceval Section.	Knight in Tomb.
Mons.	Mons.	12,576.	Mons.	12,576.	794.	12,577	Mons.	12,577.
Wisse-Colin.	British Museum.	Mons.	Heralds' College.	12,577.	British Museum.	Edin-burgh.	Edin-burgh.	1429.
1530.	1530.	Heralds' College.		1429.	1450.	1530.	1453.	Mont-pellier.
				Nouv. Acq. 6614.	1453.		1530.	
				Mont-pellier.	Mons.			
				Edin-burgh.				
				Wisse-Colin.				
				1530.				

FINAL NOTE.—It will be noticed that I have made no use of the *Carados* section in my examination of the MSS. Interesting as this story, or rather story-group, is, it is entirely independent of the *Perceval*. Its insertion within that cycle, the chronology of which it entirely upsets, has been but clumsily carried out, the point of inclusion being clearly marked. In the case of the presence of one well-defined story-group within one another it is, I think, an error to use the secondary and inserted group as an argument for the evolution and development of the primary. It is, I submit, more probable that the connection would only take place when group 2 had already attained a position of finality and importance, than that it should come about when it was in an incomplete and inchoate form. Nor do the versions march *pari passu* with those of the *Perceval*; that of 12,576 is indeed by far the best, most complete, and most coherent, and the Wisse-Colin text follows it closely, but the other MSS. do not admit of the same grouping here as elsewhere. Thus 12,577 does not here agree with 1429 and Montpellier. All show gaps and contradictions which can only be harmonised by reference to 12,576. I think it is clear that the *Carados* tale was taken into the cycle in a completed form, and abridged later at the individual caprice of copyists, who appear to have allowed themselves more latitude here than in the case of the more important *Perceval*.

CHAPTER II

THE HERO'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

THESE, then, are the materials on which we must depend for our study of the *Perceval* story as told by Chrétien de Troyes and his continuators. Our task is now to discover what lies behind, what are the elements out of which this vast compilation (and how vast and varied it is can only be realised by those who have studied it at first hand) took form and shape.

Or does the tale repose on no vague primeval tradition, reaching back into the mists of a far distant past, but did it find its origin in the genius of one man, and its development in the imitative faculty of two or three more? So some scholars would have us believe. Let us hear what Chrétien himself has to say on the point.

After setting forth the necessity of sowing seed in a good ground would one reap abundant harvest, and extolling the virtues of his patron, Count Philip of Flanders, the poet continues:

> 'dont avra bien salvé sa paine
> Crestiens, qui a tant de paine
> par le commandement le conte
> a rimoier le meillor conte
> qui soit conté a cort roial:
> ce est li contes del Graal

dont li quens li bailla le livre.
orrés coment il se delivre.'[1]
12,576, fo. 1.

So the story Chrétien set himself to tell was no new story, it was one already recognised as the best, by which I presume we may understand most popular, tale told in royal court; it had already passed the stage of oral transmission, and been committed to MS. form; it was a 'book.'

But perhaps the tale as told anew by Chrétien supplanted this or other earlier versions, and became the authoritative form, under the influence of which all our existing *Perceval* romances have been compiled? Let us then compare these versions, and see how original and copy stand in relation to each other. In good old-fashioned style we will 'begin at the beginning' with the history of the hero's father and mother and the record of his birth.

We have, at the lowest computation, six distinct variants of the tale: *Perceval*, or *Conte del Graal*,[2] the *Parzival*[3] of Wolfram von Eschenbach, the 'Didot' *Perceval*,[4] *Perlesvaus*,

[1] The majority of the MSS. give for the last words of the second line 'entent e painne.'

[2] Edited by M. Potvin for the *Société des Bibliophiles de Mons*, 6 vols., 1866-71.

[3] No text of the cycle has been so often, or so well, edited as the *Parzival*. It has been edited by Lachmann, 1891; by Bartsch, *Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., 1875-77; and more recently by Martin, 2 vols., 1903; and Leitzmann in the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, 1902-3. There are also modern German translations, by Simrock (very close to the original), Böttticher, and Hertz, the latter with excellent notes. English translation by J. L. Weston, 2 vols.

[4] Printed in Hucher's *Le Saint Graal*, Le Mans, 1875-78, vol. i.

or *Perceval le Gallois*,[1] *Syr Percyvelle of Galles*,[2] and the Welsh *Peredur*.[3] If we separate, as for critical purposes we shall be obliged to do, the three continuations of the *Perceval* from the original poem, and add the *Bliocadrans* Prologue of Mons and the British Museum, and the conclusion of Berne 113, we have eleven texts on which to base our comparison. The prose *Lancelot* and the *Queste* may also be taken into consideration. This is a goodly body of evidence. Let us see how it works out.

CHRÉTIEN. Here neither father nor mother are named; the father having been wounded, *par mi les hanches*, was, after the death of Uther Pendragon, deprived of lands and riches, and exiled *a tort*. Having a 'manoir' in the woods he caused himself to be carried thither. Perceval was at that time two years old, and had two elder brothers. When at a fitting age these two were sent, the one to the Court of King Ban de Gomeret,[4] the other to that of the King of Escavalon. Both received knighthood on the same day, and both were on the same day slain, being waylaid by foes on their journey homeward to visit father and mother. The father died of grief at their death. Only fragmentary

[1] This was printed in full, from the Brussels MS., by Potvin, in vol. i. of his *Perceval*. A Welsh version, from the Hengwert MS., has been translated by Canon R. Williams, 2 vols., 1876-92. Under the title of *The High History of the Holy Grail*, an English version by Dr. Sebastian Evans has been published in the Temple Classics, 2 vols., 1898.

[2] This is printed in *The Thornton Romances*, edited by J. G. Halliwell for the Camden Society, 1844.

[3] This will be found in *The Mabinogion*, translated by Lady Charlotte Guest, with notes by Alfred Nutt, 1902.

[4] *Le bon roi de Gomeret*, Berne 354.

details are given as to the mother's lineage, she remarks that

> 'es illes de mer n'ot linage
> mellor del mien en mon eage' :[1]

and later we learn that she was sister to the Fisher King, and to the Hermit; but whether this means that Chrétien held her to be one of the race of Joseph of Arimathea we cannot, in the incomplete state of his poem, now tell. From the fact that she insists on her lineage, rather than on that of her husband, we may perhaps assume that she was of higher rank.

WAUCHIER gives Perceval a sister, who, after the mother's death, remains alone in the woods. Also there is a Hermit, uncle on the father's side, in whose chapel the mother is buried. As Perceval, in his interview with him, mentions how he had been *chiès son oncle en le foret*, it would seem that Wauchier gives a hermit relative on each side of the house. Here Perceval appears to be younger than his sister, who is not named.[2]

MANESSIER. This version is decidedly vague. Perceval is nephew, presumably heir, to the Fisher King, but at one moment the relationship is said to be on the father's, the

[1] Cf. Potvin, ll. 1619-20.

[2] When Perceval recognises that he is close to his mother's dwelling he remarks:

> 'mais ie ni ai seror ne frere
> mien essient ne autre ami.'
> B. N., 12,576, fo. 112.

Yet he shows no surprise at finding his sister. This passage, which is in all the MSS., looks like an awkward juxtaposition of two conflicting traditions.

next on the mother's side. He has a brother, Gloval (Agloval).

GERBERT is far more detailed. The father's name was Gales li Caus, of the mother none knew anything, Perceval himself was too young,

'si ne l'apeloie fors mere
tandis que je avec li ere
e ele m'apeloit biax fils.'[1]

Her name was told to none,

'tant estoit plaine de martyre
pour che que fu desiretee
onques nului ne fu contee
qui ele fu ne de quel terre.'[2]

But the lady of the *Château as Puceles*, to whom he tells this, knows. She and Perceval's mother were cousins. The latter's name was Philosofine, and they two brought the Grail hither,

'le Graal cha oltre aportames
quant moi e li la mer passames.'[3]

Here then Perceval's mother may be considered as the original Grail-bearer. Gerbert also gives Perceval a sister, and repeats the visit to the Hermit uncle as in Wauchier.

BERNE 113. Perceval is son to Alain li Gros, and grandson to the Fisher King, and Enigeus. He was born at Sinadon. We have also the usual 'Wauchier' account of his coming to his mother's home, finding his sister, and

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 164 *vo.*
[2] Cf. *supra.*
[3] B. N. 12,576, fo. 165.

with her visiting the Hermit uncle. No attempt is made to combine, or harmonise, these two accounts.

PROLOGUE TO MONS AND BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. 36,614. Here the father's name is Bliocadrans. He is the last of twelve brothers, eleven of whom have come to their death through their devotion to tournaments and warlike exercises. He is deeply distressed at the death of his brothers, and would fain have consoled himself by tourneys, but is withheld by his wife. Shortly before the birth of their first child, Bliocadrans (the wife is not named) is summoned to a tourney held by the King of Gales, and 'those of Cornwall' against the King of the Gaste Fontaine. He goes, and is mortally wounded (apparently in fair fight), only living two days. He is buried by his people in the 'mostier' near by. Meanwhile his wife has given birth to a son, and the messenger arrives with the tidings to find his lord dead and buried. He returns, and concealing the truth, tells his lady that her husband has been summoned to the court of the King of Gales, and will not return for eight days. In the interval the knights take counsel, and determine to send for an 'Abbé' to break the news to the widow. The lady faints, and the Abbé revives her. When the child is seven months old, the mother resolves to retire to the 'Gaste Forest,' and make her home where there is no possibility of her son hearing or seeing aught of knighthood. She consults 'I. sien major,' father of twelve children, eight sons and four daughters, who agrees to share her flight, but persuades her to conceal her real purpose under the pretence of a pilgrimage to the shrine of 'S. Brandain d'Escoce.' The land is left in the care of a nephew, the knights promising to keep it faithfully for their

young lord. The lady sets out, and comes to a castle, Caflé,[1] *sur la mer de Gales*, and from thence enters the forest. After twelve days' wandering they find a glade suitable for their purpose, build a house, and remain there fourteen years before the opening of the story.

This is the fullest and most coherent version we possess. It will be noticed that the mother's family is not mentioned.

PARZIVAL. The father of the hero is Gamuret, Prince of Anjou, who on the death of his father has set forth to conquer a kingdom for himself. He has an elder brother, at whose death in battle he is overcome with grief. He weds, first a heathen princess, whom he subsequently deserts on the plea that she was not baptized, and secondly Herzeleide, by right of her first husband Queen of Waleis and Norgales, making a compact with his wife that he shall attend a tourney every month.

Shortly before the birth of his first child, he is summoned to the East to the aid of the Baruch of Bagdad, whom he has previously served, and there he is treacherously slain in battle, and buried with great honours. His followers return, and tell the news to the widow, who falls senseless, but is revived by the skill and knowledge of an old man. Fourteen days later her son is born. She determines to fly to the wood 'Soltane,' where she can bring up her boy in ignorance of arms and warfare. No details of her flight are given; but as we learn later that the boy's nobles have been slain, and his land taken by two brothers, there was

[1] Was the *Gaste forest* thought of as being in the 'wilderness of Wirral,' which, as we learn from *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte*, was 'loved neither by God nor man.' The geography would fit in very well

probably in the original some undertaking to guard the kingdoms for the rightful heir.

Later on we learn that Herzeleide is of the Grail lineage, sister to the Fisher King and the Hermit, and was herself, before her first marriage, Grail Bearer, in which office she was succeeded by her sister.

PERLESVAUS is son to Julian le Gros, of the race of Nicodemus, one of twelve brethren, all of whom died in arms through their great hardihood. His mother was Ygloas, of the race of Joseph of Arimathea, and had three brothers, the Fisher King, King Pelles of 'la basse gent,' and the King of the Chastel Mortel, in whom was as much of evil as in the others of good. He has one sister, Dindrane, or Dandrane. His father does not die till after his departure from home, but after that event his mother and sister are sore beset by foes and in danger of losing their land.

'DIDOT' PERCEVAL. Here the father is Alain le Gros, one of the twelve sons of Brons by the sister of Joseph of Arimathea. The father does not die till the son is old enough to go to the Court of King Arthur, which he does by Alain's desire. No details are given as to the mother's name. He has a sister, and an uncle, brother to his father.

SYR PERCYVELLE OF GALLES. Percyvelle is the son of a knight of the same name, of high standing at Arthur's Court, and husband to the King's sister, Acheflour. Percyvelle the elder has incurred the enmity of the Red Knight by overthrowing him at a tournament held in honour of his marriage, and at a subsequent meeting, in celebration of the birth of the son, the Red Knight avenges

himself by slaying his foe, apparently in fair fight. The widow flies to the woods, with her child, a maid servant, and a flock of goats.

PEREDUR is the seventh, and youngest, son of Earl Evrawc. His father and elder brothers are slain in battle, and the mother takes refuge in the woods, accompanied by 'women and boys and spiritless men, who were both unaccustomed to war and fighting.'

THE ICELANDIC 'PARCIVAL.' Here the father is a vassal ('Bonde'), but of good family, who weds the King's daughter. He retires with wife and child to wilderness, as he will not consort with the other courtiers.[1]

THE PROSE 'LANCELOT,' in the section recounting Perceval's introduction to court, tells us how he was brought up alone in the woods by his mother, and gives him six brothers, of whom only one, Agloval, remains alive. In the QUESTE Perceval has of course a sister.

The foregoing present us with a sufficient list of variants to make it clear that there was no one absolutely dominant version of the birth and parentage of the hero we know as Perceval. The permanent and persistent feature appears rather to be the fact that he is son to a widow; the antecedent circumstances, the cause of her widowhood, and the reason of her dwelling so far from the haunts of men, being variously explained.

But how, judging from the standpoint of even a comparatively original and authoritative version, does Chrétien

[1] This agrees with the suggestion I made with regard to Chrétien's version, *i.e.* that the mother was held to be of higher rank than the father.

stand with regard to the other forms of our tale? Not only does his account fail to agree with the majority of the extant versions, but it is in harmony with none. In one main point he absolutely contradicts all, save the Icelandic translation: the attribution of the flight into the woods to the father rather than to the mother is a detail entirely foreign to the usual trend of the story.

Nowhere else either has Perceval two brothers, nowhere is the father's death brought about by grief at the loss of these elder sons. Where Chrétien treats of the boy's life in the woods with his mother he is working on traditional lines, where he explains the *raison d'être* of that life he departs boldly from the usually received version, a mother's fears for her sole surviving child. Nor is this other than what we might expect from a *littérateur* bent on remodelling a traditional and popular tale.

From a careful study of the texts I am inclined to think that the versions which give the father as one of twelve brothers represent the most generally received tradition. The fact is definitely stated in the '*Bliocadrans*' Prologue, the *Perlesvaus*, and the '*Didot*' *Perceval*, and implied in the conclusion of *Berne* 113, which makes Perceval the son of Alain li Gros. Nor is this of necessity due to the influence of Borron. In the two first named versions the warlike and knightly character of the family is strongly insisted upon, and thus, by emphasising the hereditary instincts from which she would guard her son, the action of the mother is better motived. This is not the case in Borron, where the secular and chivalric element is distinctly secondary. Versions which, like *Peredur* and the *Lancelot*, ascribe the death in combat to father and *sons*, thus making the hero, instead of an only child,

or only son, the survivor of a more or less numerous family, appear to represent a later stage. Chrétien, who makes the elder brothers die as youths, and rather through treachery (being set upon when on a peaceful errand) than through their warlike habits, departs alike from the earlier and the later form.

As the dominant feature in the history of the hero was that he was 'fils a la veve dame,' so the important hereditary factor was probably the lineage of that mother. We have remarked above the stress that Chrétien apparently lays on this point, and there is a very general consensus of testimony to the association of the lady with a royal race, as a rule with that of the Grail Kings, in *Syr Percyvelle* with that of King Arthur. I am of opinion that the birth and origin of the father was a matter of secondary interest and development, but that so far as the existing romances are concerned the tradition which gives him twelve brothers is the older.[1]

A point which cannot fail to strike the careful student is

[1] The Perceval story, in its ultimate origin, has been recognised as a member of the group of tales classified by J. G. von Hahn under the title of *The Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula.* To this group many mythic heroes, such as Perseus, Theseus, and Herakles, belong. That strong analogies exist between the story of Perceval and that of Siegfried, the representative Teutonic Formula-Hero, I have pointed out in my *Legends of the Wagner Drama.* One of the persistent features of this group is that the identity of the father is kept secret: he is generally 'a god or hero from afar.' This feature is not only mythic, but also points to the evolution of the story in a primitive social 'milieu,' where, under the matriarchal system, the personality of the father was a matter of secondary importance. This family of tales has been well studied by Mr. Alfred Nutt in *The Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula, Folk-lore Record,* vol. iv.; also in *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail,* chap. vi.

the remarkable number of texts which ascribe to the hero a sister, generally regarded as a being of exalted, and even of saintly character.[1]

For this tradition we have *Wauchier*, *Gerbert*, the '*Didot*' *Perceval*, and *Perlesvaus*, while the feature is elaborated into extraordinary prominence in the *Queste*. Now here the evidence of *Wauchier* and *Gerbert* is of especial value; both are ostensibly continuing and completing Chrétien's poem, yet both alike depart here, as in the Grail sections, with remarkable unanimity from their supposed source.[2] In the case of the Grail visit we have good ground for believing that this divergence was due to the claims of an earlier, and more authoritative tradition. Did the same reasons operate here? Did Chrétien's continuators invent a sister for the hero, or did they simply take over the character from an earlier form of the story? It is difficult to see why they should have done the first, as the lady plays so small a rôle in the *Perceval*; we have an interesting little piece of evidence in favour of their having done the second.

I have already alluded to an interpolation of seventeen lines, found in the MSS. Paris 794, and British Museum Add. 36,614. It occurs at the conclusion of the boy's interview with the knights whom he meets in the wood; at the moment of separation the leader asks his name:

'"mès or te pri que tu m'anseignes
par quel non je t'apelerai,
—sire," fet il, "jel vus dirai.

[1] This trait was not invented by the author of the *Queste*. In Gerbert we are told that her people look upon her as '*une sainte chose*.'—B. N. 12,576, fo. 163.

[2] Cf. my articles on 'Wauchier de Denain and Bleheris-Bledhericus,' *Romania*, vol. xxxiii.

j'ai non biax fils,—biax fils as ores
je cuit bien que tu as ancores
. I . autre non,—sire, par foy,
j'ai non biau frere,—bien t'an croy,
mès, se tu vials dire [le] voir,
ton droit non voldrai je savoir,
—sire," fet il, "bien vus puis dire
que mon droit non ai non biau sire.
—si m'aït Diex, ci a biax non,
as an tu plus? sire, je non,
ne onques certes plus n'an oi.
si m'aïst Diex, mervoilles oi
les greignors que j'oïsse mès
ne ne cuit que j'oie jamès."'

794, fo. 362.

Now that the boy should be called 'biau fils' by his mother, and 'biau sire' by those of his mother's household, is quite consistent with Chrétien's version, but who should call him 'biau frere'? His brothers, according to this writer, died when he was an infant, nor would the youngest of the family be addressed by his elders in so formal a fashion. But that a sister should so address an only brother would be most natural and fitting.[1]

Again this passage is of importance for another reason. In the *Parzival* on the first occasion of the hero's being asked his name, which he is by his cousin, he replies:

[1] He would undoubtedly be so addressed by an elder of equal, or higher, rank; thus the Grail King later on calls him 'Biax frere'; but the point is, was there such an one in his mother's house? According to the great majority of versions there was not, all, save the mother, being servants.

'bon fîz, schier fîz, bêâ fîz,
alsus hât mich genennet
der mich da heime erkennet.'[1]

In the same way Syr Percyvelle, asked by Arthur who he is, and whence he comes, can only answer:

'I ame myne awnne modirs childe
comene fro the woddez wylde.'[2]

Now Chrétien has nothing of this. True he tells us that on the boy's return his mother calls him 'biau fils' more than a hundred times; but that she calls him nothing else, or that he knows no name save these terms of endearment, is never stated. The fact that later on he so correctly guesses his own name, a trait not in harmony with the lack of intelligence generally ascribed to him, would lead us to conclude that he had at least heard it before.[3]

[1] *Parzival*, Book III. l. 720. In commenting on these lines Professor Martin (*Parzival*, vol. ii. p. 141) evidently refers to the passage quoted above, which had been communicated to him by Professor Baist; but he is mistaken in saying the words are spoken to Gornemans, and attributes them to Chrétien.

[2] Cf. stanza xxxii.

[3] It is possible that Chrétien thought of the boy as bearing the same name as his father, as he does in the English poem. There are points of contact between these two unshared by other versions. Chrétien certainly departed from his source in the account of the father, and the mention of Uther Pendragon seems to indicate that he did so with a view to connecting the story more closely with the Arthurian cycle. If the above suggestion is correct, the lad might well have heard his father named, and his guess would not be unnatural. There is, however, a curious passage in the *Bliocadrans* text, which seems to hint at

But the writer of the above lines clearly knew the tradition of the nameless lad. My view is that in this passage we have an interesting survival of an earlier *Perceval* poem, in which the boy lived in the woods with mother and sister, under circumstances agreeing closely with the version followed by Wauchier and Gerbert. Also this passage affords indirect evidence of the presence in Wolfram's source of a similar incident, omitted by Chrétien.

And this leads us to one of the most interesting and important points in our investigation: the relation between the '*Bliocadrans*' prologue and the *Parzival*. The likeness between the two versions has been noted before, but I do not think its real extent and immense importance have as yet been realised. In the summary at the commencement of this chapter I purposely placed the two versions together, and cited them in so detailed a manner that the reader might for himself judge of the extraordinary correspondence between them. We will now take the several points in order.

a mystery attaching to the hero's name. After the birth of the child we are told:

'au mostier le fisent porter
sel font baptisier e laver,
e, quant il fu crestienés
ses nons fu issi apelés
com s'il onques ne fust veüs
ne nonciés ne aperceüs.'
Potvin, ll. 737-42.

Add. 36,614 differs somewhat in the concluding lines:

'com s'il onques ne fust séus
ne nomes ne amentéus,'

which seems to me the better reading.

In both versions the devotion of the father to warlike exercises is insisted upon. In both he is overcome with grief at the death in tourney of a brother or brothers, which death leaves him the sole surviving member of his family. In both he is summoned from home, shortly before the birth of his first child, to attend a tourney; in both is there slain, and buried away from home with great honours. In both versions an old man plays an important rôle at the moment of breaking the news to the widow; in fact, the version of the *Parzival* where the presence of mind of this personage saves the life of the Queen, whom her maidens would have allowed to die in her swoon, requires the explanation of the '*Bliocadrans*,' where he has been sent for to break the tidings, otherwise what is he doing in the Queen's private apartments? The details of the lady's subsequent flight, and the ultimate loss of her lands, in the German poem, are entirely in agreement with the version of the French fragment.

That the two hang closely together, and represent different stages of one and the same version, is, I think, beyond reasonable doubt, but what is the precise connection between them? That they stand to each other in the immediate position of source and derivative I do not think; were it so we must ascribe to the German poet the entire conception of the opening books, with their Angevin connection and curiously minute knowledge of Angevin tradition. That these books are due to Wolfram I have never believed. Nor, if this be not a fragment of Kyot's poem, is it any more a later abridgment of that work. A source such as that which lies behind the *Parzival*, replete with Oriental allusions, and deeply coloured with Crusading influences, could never have been so success-

fully divested of all its characteristic elements. I believe there is one solution, and one solution alone, which will satisfactorily explain the relation of the '*Bliocadrans*' text, alike with the German and the French poem—that it is a precious and, so far, unique, survival of the ultimate source of both, a fragment of that book of Count Philip's from which Chrétien and Kyot alike drew their inspiration.

In the next chapter we shall see how this fragment, which is, as it were, the sketch from which Wolfram's wonderfully finished picture was drawn, is itself the picture of which Chrétien offers us a dim replica. For the moment, leaving this question on one side, let us ask whether, granting this to be the case, we have not a simple explanation of the accusation levelled by Wolfram against Chrétien. He says that Kyot may well be angry with the French poet, for whereas the first had told the story of Perceval aright, the latter had told it amiss—'disem maere hât unréht getân.'[1] Now Chrétien did not live to complete his work, and from Book III. to the end of Chrétien's poem, Wolfram, who is professedly following Kyot, agrees closely with the extant *Perceval;* consequently, unless it be in the representation of the Grail, and its knights, the divergence between the two versions must be at an earlier point of the tale. Now Kyot stands alone in his conception of the Grail, but Chrétien stands alone in his treatment of the opening incidents.

It is not difficult, I think, to understand how a literary artist of Chrétien's acknowledged skill, handling a well-worn and oft-told theme, would seek to vary it by departing from the conventional beginning, producing a new effect by plunging *in medias res*, and placing the necessary

[1] *Parzival*, Book XVI. ll. 1201-2.

explanations in the mouth of the mother. If the variants above given have told their tale aright, it must have been no easy task which was laid upon the court poet! But whatever the reason, the fact remains, Chrétien did alter the story, and as we have said above, for the worse, in that he substituted for the primitive and pathetic 'motif' of the flight of the widow to the desolate woods, the migration of a wounded knight, with family and household, to his country *manoir*.

What then is the result of our examination of the various forms of our story in its introductory stage? That so far as Chrétien is concerned his version is not the source from which, as a whole, the others derive; we may even go further and say that there is not one single version which, with the possible exception of the Icelandic 'Saga,' so far as birth and parentage go, can be said to depend on Chrétien. On the other hand while Chrétien stands alone other of the stories give proofs of derivation from a common source. Thus, as we have seen, the tradition of the father being one of twelve brothers is represented by quite an important number of texts. Four agree in making the father die in a tourney; four or five give the hero a sister; two make his mother Grail-bearer, while no two really agree throughout.

The obvious conclusion, I think, is that in the *Perceval* story we have an extremely old, and highly popular, tale, which previous to Chrétien's remodelling in literary form already existed in a considerable number of variants. That Chrétien was the first to make the attempt to transform it from a popular folk-tale to a more elaborate and courtly recital is even doubtful; if the hypothesis advanced above as to the real character of the '*Bliocadrans*' Prologue

have any value, his source was already a work of some extent and importance. Later we shall find that the tale as it came into his hands was no longer in a simple and uncontaminated form, but had passed through one, it may even be more than one, stage of amplification. In the succeeding chapter we will examine the records of the hero's youth, the *Enfances Perceval*; and we shall find, I think, that the views suggested above are in no wise weakened by the additional evidence, but rather as our field of investigation widens, so does the theory of the secondary nature of Chrétien's work gain strength and support.

CHAPTER III

THE PERCEVAL *ENFANCES*

FROM the foregoing fragmentary, and somewhat contradictory, records of the hero's birth and parentage we turn to the more connected and harmonious story of his youth. Not that the versions are all in accord even here, far from it, but whereas in the preceding chapter we found their divergence to be positive, here the difference is negative, the variants being those of omission, rather than of assertion. They do not all give the same details, but the accounts are all more or less capable of being harmonised. We will take the texts in order as before and then endeavour to ascertain what conclusions should be drawn from their collective testimony.

As before, I place Chrétien first.

CHRÉTIEN. Here we find the mother residing on a '*manoir*,' with apparently a considerable household.[1] She has maidservants and manservants, twelve oxen and six ploughs.[2] The lad possesses three 'gaverlots'; how he got them is not stated; with these he slays the deer. He

[1] Cf. Potvin, ll. 1920-1.

[2] 'Bœuf xii. e sis herces avoit.' Potvin gives 'Bien xii. ou dis herces avoit.' The first is the usual, and, I think, undoubtedly the correct, reading.

rides into the woods on a '*chacéor*.' On his meeting with the knights he decides, before seeing them, from the clang of their armour, that they must be devils,[1] as his mother had told him that they were the most terrible things in the world, and had bade him cross himself should he meet them. He resolves to stand his ground and slay them if possible, but on seeing them he declares they must be angels:

> 'et ne me dist ma mere fable
> qui me dist que li angle sont
> les plus beles choses du mont
> fors diex, ki plus est biax que tuit.'[2]

He falls on his knees and repeats his Credo, and the prayers his mother had taught him.

In all this part, Chrétien's narrative is rather indirect than direct, that is, he appears to me, instead of following the simple method of the folk-tale, which explains the why and wherefore of everything, and prepares the ground for each event as it happens, to be feeling after a more advanced literary style, in which the tale shall tell itself, and the hero shall be his own interpreter. So we are not told how the lad became provided with weapons, nor do we know till the exigencies of the story give practical effect to his mother's teaching that such teaching has been given. Even, as I noted in the last chapter, the circumstances explanatory of the home in the woods are not set forth till the boy's desire to go out into the world compels his mother to the revelation. In each case the story is told by the 'dramatis personæ' themselves, not by the reciter of the tale. This appears to me to mark a distinct ad-

[1] Potvin, ll. 1325 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 1354-7.

vance in literary style, and a dividing line between Chrétien and the other versions.

We have further the conversation with the knights, in which the boy asks the meaning and use of the various portions of a knight's armour, a scene which is much the same in all the versions. The mother's counsel on his leaving home shows, on the contrary, considerable variation. Here she bids him honour and serve all women, and do nought that may displease them. If a maiden will kiss him 'tis well; further he may not ask against her will. If she bear a ring on her finger, a girdle or purse, and will give it him for love or prayer, let him take it. He must not, on road or in hostelry, company long with any without asking his name. He must seek the company of old men (prodomes) for they never give counsel amiss. Above all, he is to frequent churches and monasteries; then follows, on the lad's asking what these last may be, a short exposition of the Christian faith. On leaving his mother the boy is dressed 'á la guise des Galois.'[1]

[1] This is earlier explained as being:

'de kanevas grosse cemise
et braies faites a la guise
de Gales u l'en fet ensamble
braies et cauces ce me samble.'

Potvin, ll. 1693-96.

In *Syr Percyvelle* we are told that he wears a hood of skins, fastened under the chin, and in fact the miniatures in the illuminated texts show him dressed in a single tight-fitting garment, with pointed hood, drawn over the head. The effect really is that of a fool's dress, especially when the costume, as in the frescoes of the great hall at Neu-Schwanstein, is coloured red. Had Wolfram or his source seen such an illumination? If so, we can well understand how he came to describe the lad as dressed like a fool. The reason he gives is scarcely consistent with the character of so affectionate a mother as Herzeleide.

When he arrives at Arthur's court he rides up so close to the King that his horse's head knocks off Arthur's cap,[1] 'del cief son capel de bonet.' Later, when he has slain the Red Knight, and is vainly endeavouring to disarm the corpse, he complains to the squire who has followed him:

'je quidoie de votre roi[2]
qu'il m'eüst ces armes donees
ains avroie par carbonees
trestout escarbellié le mort
que nule des armes emport.'

BLIOCADRANS. The lady, as we saw in the preceding chapter, is accompanied in her flight by a numerous '*maisnie*.' They build her a house:

'close de palis environ
que moult y fu bien herbergie
lo dame et toute sa mainie.'[3]

They have fields and cornlands. She gives her boy, 'qui moult avoit de sens petit,' to understand that in the whole world there is no other dwelling, and no other folk than themselves:

'—qu'il n'avoit maison
n'ome ne fame s'iluec non
el mont si grans comme il estoit
et li enfes bien le quidoit.'[4]

But, she tells him, should he when he goes into the forest to slay deer, see beings who appear to be covered with iron, he must cross himself, say his Credo, and return

[1] Potvin, ll. 2124-9.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 2326-30. '*Escarbellié*, in the fourth line, is peculiar to Mons, the majority of the texts give '*esbraoné*.'

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 1199-1202.

[4] *Ibid.*, ll. 1225-9.

home as quickly as may be.[1] He goes into the forest armed with three gaverlots, made for him by the sons of the '*maior*' who well understood the art, and we are told how he spent a day in the woods, saw nothing, and returned at eve to his mother. Here, in each case, the fragment breaks off.[2]

PARZIVAL. Here the mother appears to live, not merely in comfort, having men and maidservants, oxen and ploughs, but from the boy's allusion to the jewellery[3] worn by the women of the household, and his boast to Arthur that his mother is a Queen, and will give him whatever he asks for, in considerable state. At the same time there are traits which indicate an underlying tradition of a more primitive form. He washes in the river, and makes himself a bow and arrows, with which he slays small birds. He has 'gavelots' with which he slays the deer, and himself carries the produce of the chase home to the mother.[4] He is so strong no beast is too heavy for him to bear. On the occasion of the first meal he takes in a strange house (Gurnemanz), he astonishes all by his enormous appetite; he eats as if he would fill a manger.[5]

[1] Potvin, ll. 1233-49.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 1270-82. Both the MSS. containing this fragment insert it between the Prologue of Chrétien's poem, and the commencement of the story proper. *Ce fu el tans c'arbre florissent.* The Mons text gives only the concluding portion of the Prologue, having replaced the earlier part by the *Elucidation*. In this it stands alone, all other MSS. beginning with *Ki petit seme*, etc., which must, I think, be held to be the genuine opening of Chrétien's work.

[3] *Parzival*, Book III., ll. 234-5 and 1017-18.

[4] *Ibid.*, ll. 124-6. The earlier part of this Book, from l. 33 to 130, the meeting with the knights, abounds in details of the hero's childhood.

[5] *Ibid.*, ll. 1494-5.

The mother's teaching as to God and the devil is here very fully given, and modified by the distinctive feature of this version, the insistence on the contrast between black and white, light and darkness, good and evil. When leaving home his mother counsels him to avoid untrodden paths, and dark fords, to ride where the water is clear; to greet all men courteously, and receive in good part the advice of the old. If a good woman will give him her greeting and her ring, he shall take it, 'twill be a comfort; if she grant him to kiss and embrace her, well, if she be pure and chaste it will bring fortune and high courage. She concludes by telling him of the two brothers, Orilus and Lähelein, who have robbed him of his inheritance. On leaving home he is dressed as a fool. The hero's personal beauty, mentioned in most of the versions, is here especially emphasised. His behaviour at court, as might be gathered from his mother's counsels, is much more civilised than in Chrétien.

THE ICELANDIC PARCIVAL. Here it is the father who instructs the boy in the art of throwing spears, with which he slays animals and birds. When he leaves home his mother dresses him like the son of a charcoal-burner, and tells him he is of good birth, but must expect to be despised by others.

'DIDOT PERCEVAL'—gives no details as to the *Enfances*, but simply says the hero mounted '.I. chacéor' and rode 'par .I. bois, et par .I. forez' till he came to the court of the King.

PERLESVAUS. Here, also, the details are very vague. The father takes the boy one day to a tomb, the lid of which

cannot be lifted till the best knight in the world come. The lad asks what a knight may be, and is told of his eleven uncles, and the details of a knight's armour are described to him. Next morning, hearing the birds sing, the boy thinks he will go into the forest, mounts his '*chacéor*,' and takes three javelins with him. Having started a stag he pursues it for some distance, till he comes to an open glade where a White and a Red Knight are fighting. Seeing that the former is getting the worst of it, he throws a javelin at the Red Knight, and slays him. Leaving him dead on the ground, he returns home, and tells his parents. Shortly after he sets out for the court of King Arthur.

SYR PERCYVELLE. In the last chapter we noted that the mother took with her in her flight one handmaiden, and a flock of goats. Their dwelling appears to have been of a primitive character; the lad is said to have been 'fosterde in the felle,' and to have 'drunk water of the welle.' His mother gives him a 'lytille Scottes spear' which she had brought with her, telling him she has found it in the woods. With this he slays small birds, harts, and hinds. His mother teaches him to pray to God, Who made the world; and he goes forth into the wood to seek for Him. Meeting three knights of Arthur's court he thinks they must be God, and prays to them. His mother bids him be 'of mesure,' and to greet any knight he may meet, telling him he will know him by the 'menevaire' on his hood. The boy is clad in goat skins, with a hood of the same to his chin. On arriving at Arthur's court he rides so near to the King that his mare's muzzle touches the monarch's forehead. In the scene in which he endeavours

to disarm the slain knight, Gawayne (who here plays the rôle usually assigned to his squire) finds him preparing to burn the body, explaining how his mother bade him:

> 'when the darte shold broken be
> out of the yren burne the tre.'[1]

PEREDUR. Here, as we have seen above, the mother takes with her to the woods 'boys and women and spiritless men,' *i.e.* a fairly numerous household. She also possessed a herd of goats, as we are told that one day Peredur, seeing two hinds standing by them took them for goats that had lost their horns, and by swiftness of foot, ran them home with the others. He amuses himself by flinging sticks and staves, with what object is not stated. There is no special religious teaching, but when for the first time he sees knights, and asks his mother what they are, she tells him they are angels. When he leaves home she counsels him if he sees a church to repeat his Paternoster. If he need food and it be not offered to him to take it. Should he hear a cry, especially if the voice be a woman's, to go towards it. If he sees a fair jewel to take it, and give it to another, so shall he win praise. If he sees a fair woman to pay court to her, whether she will or no. When he goes forth to seek the court he takes a handful of sharp-pointed forks. His dress is not noted.

To the above summary of texts I will venture to add another, which, though belonging in its present form, not to this, but to an allied group of tales, has yet been recognised by the scholars who have dealt with it as undoubtedly derived from the *Perceval* story. I allude to the Italian poem of *Carduino*.

[1] *Syr Percyvelle*, stanza xlvii.

CARDUINO.[1]—In this poem the father of the hero is a noble of Arthur's court, named Dondinello, who, for motives of jealousy, has been treacherously slain (poisoned) by 'Mordarette' and his brothers.[2] The widow with her only child flies to the woods, where they live alone in a dwelling made of boughs. As the boy grows older his mother tells him there are no beings in the world save themselves and God. One day the boy finds two spears which have been forgotten by huntsmen, and brings them home to his mother, asking what they may be. She tells him God has sent them, he is to slay animals with them, eat them, and clothe himself with the skins. This he does, carrying all he kills home to his mother. He grows tall, strong, and fair to look on. One day the King's men hunting in the forest see him, and taking him for a wild man, chase him. He runs home to his mother, reproaching her for having mocked him. She had told him they

[1] Published by Professor Rajna, in *Poemetti Cavallereschi*, Bologna, 1873. In the Introduction Professor Rajna points out the close correspondence with the Perceval story, and treats the poem as a variant of that hero's youth. M. Paulin Paris, reviewing the edition in *Romania* (vol. iv.), calls it *une servile imitation de Perceval.*

[2] Mordarette is of course Mordret, the murderers are Gawain and his brothers. The part they play here agrees with that assigned to them in the Prose *Tristan*, where they kill Perceval's father, Pelljnor, and two of his sons. The Prose *Tristan*, through the medium of the incorporated *Lancelot* texts, has, in two cases certainly, preserved early forms of the *Perceval* story. One MS., cited by Löseth, gives the account of the boy's meeting with his brother Agloval in close agreement with his meeting with the knights in Chrétien; another has preserved a fragment of the *Didot Perceval.* It seems by no means impossible that a *Tristan* text may have contained a version of the Perceval *Enfances* more primitive in form than any we have yet discovered, and that that version was utilised by the author of *Carduino.*

were alone in the world, save for God; now he has seen men who have chased him, he will stay no longer in the woods. The mother, who is well provided with gold and jewels, goes with him to a town, and eventually, on the advice of his comrades, the lad betakes himself to Arthur's court. There he disclaims all knowledge of his parentage, although his mother has told him the truth as to his father's death. At the first meal he astonishes all by his appetite, eating more than enough for six.

These, then, are the existing versions of Perceval's boyhood and entry into the world. To what does their evidence point? I would submit, to precisely the same conclusion as that previously arrived at—to the existence of a well-known, and here, minutely detailed, story, familiar more or less to all the writers, and exactly reproduced by none. All go back ultimately to the same original source, but only in the case of the first three can any inter-relation be safely postulated. Between these three, Chrétien, Bliocadrans, and Wolfram, a connection undoubtedly exists, and moreover they are, from a literary point of view, distinctly the most finished and advanced members of the family.[1] Thus the account, in which they all agree, of the mother's residence in the woods, her household, her cattle, fields, and lands, points to a much later, and more artificial, stage of the story than that represented by *Syr Percyvelle* or *Carduino*, where mother and child are practically alone, and their dwelling of the most primitive description.

[1] I hold the *Perlesvaus* also to be a complete and literary version, but it uses the *Perceval* so freely as to be of little or no use in studying the earlier forms of that tradition. In the later evolution of the story it becomes a more important factor.

Curiously enough the *Bliocadrans* has, side by side with its more advanced presentment, preserved a trait of the earlier form. Here, as in the *Carduino*, we find the mother telling her boy that they are the only people in the world. In the Italian poem this is not unnatural, as they are entirely alone; in the *Bliocadrans* it is out of place, as among a large household of men (the '*maior*' has eight sons, to say nothing of their servants),[1] the lad's ignorance on so elementary a point could not possibly be preserved.

Again, I would suggest that the religious instruction which emphasises the existence of angels and devils belongs to a later and more elaborate stage than that which mentions God only. This latter would be the starting-point. Chrétien has dropped it out; Wolfram retains, but develops it, most admirably it must be admitted.[2]

The parting counsels, too, especially Chrétien's, with the insistence on religious duties, and the implied existence of a highly developed civilisation, where churches and richly-dowered monasteries are to be met with at every turn, are much later than the elementary teaching of *Syr Percyvelle*.

Altogether, assuming the story to be a very old one, a tale which arose from a mythic tradition, handed down

[1] Thus they take with them into the wilderness more than a hundred carts, horses, sheep, and oxen. This would necessitate a very considerable staff of servants.

[2] Would not the mother, teaching her son of God, speak to him of the Trinity in Unity, One God in Three Persons? I suspect that this was the earliest form of the story, and that the boy met, not five knights, as in Chrétien, but three, as in *Syr Percyvelle* and *Peredur*, when his behaviour would be quite intelligible.

from early Aryan times, and which took shape in a social '*milieu*,' where matriarchy was the accepted rule, we must, I think, recognise that our first three versions can scarcely be held to faithfully reproduce, though they may be (undoubtedly are), based upon the original 'données' of the tale.

What these were I think we can, with fair accuracy, determine. The name and race of the father were not insisted upon. The mother was of royal birth, a Queen in her own right, or sister to a King—in a matriarchal stage of society these would amount to the same—the boy would inherit in his mother's right. They lived alone, or with it may be one companion, in the woods. Their dwelling was very primitive, the water of the stream served for their needs. They subsisted on the milk of the goats the mother had brought with her till the boy was old enough to kill the small birds and deer with which the forest abounded. For this purpose he made use of darts which his mother brought with her, or which had been found in the woods, or fashioned by himself. He was notably strong, fair of face, and fleet-footed. He believed there were no other dwellers on the earth save themselves and God, to Whom his mother taught him to pray. On his first meeting with men he either took them for God, or fled from them (both versions are probable and consistent). As the immediate result of this meeting he left the woods, and repaired to the court of a king; he was dressed in skins, or peasant costume, and carried his darts. At parting his mother gave him certain counsels. At court he aroused general attention by his personal beauty, extreme naïveté, and uncouth behaviour, especially by his fashion of addressing the King, and enormous appetite.

He slew a knight who was foe, either to the King, to his mother, or to both, and dressed himself in his armour, displaying his ignorance in handling the corpse.

From this point onward the story appears to have developed on varying lines.

The foregoing summary will, I hope, commend itself to serious students of the cycle. It will be noted that I include only incidents which, at any period and in any '*milieu*,' would carry with them a sense of probability. Each of these, moreover, is witnessed to by more than one of the versions. On the other hand, I have excluded traits which, though now part of the tradition, appear for one reason or another to be out of harmony with the primitive form.

Such, for example, are the adventure with the lady of the tent, which seems to be an independent story of the *Griselidis* group, inserted in our tale: the boy's conversation with the knights, and his lessons in chivalry, as both can only have been added under the influence of a state of society in which the obligations of knighthood were of paramount importance. Finally, I exclude the death of the mother, as there is reason to suppose that the story, in its original form, ended with the reunion of mother and son, and the regaining of their inheritance. This point will be discussed in the next chapter.

If we adopt the above as a possible reconstruction of the primitive tale, the following table will show how the existing versions conform to it:—

1. Mother a queen
   a. in her own right; Wolfram.
   b. sister to king.

ba. Arthur.[1]	*ba.* *Syr Percyvelle.*
bb. Grail king.	*bb.* Chrétien; Wolfram; *Perlesvaus*; Manessier; 'Didot' *Perceval* (sister to Joseph of Arimathea) probably Gerbert (as Grail-bearer); *Peredur* (the equivalent of the Grail king).
2. Dwell alone in the woods	*Carduino.*
a. with one attendant.	*a.* *Syr Percyvelle.*
3. Primitive character of dwelling; use stream for washing and drinking.	*Syr Percyvelle*; Wolfram.[2]
4. Subsist, during boy's infancy, on milk of goats brought by mother.	*Syr Percyvelle.*[3]
5. Grown older the boy slays	
a. small birds,	*a.* Wolfram; *Syr Percyvelle.* *Saga.*
b. deer,	*b.* Chrétien; Wolfram; *Syr Percyvelle*; *Carduino*; *Bliocadrans.*
c. which he carries home to his mother.	*c.* Wolfram; *Carduino.*

[1] The *Arthur* tradition is represented only by this text, but it seems more consistent with the story in its earlier form than a connection with the mystical Grail kings.

[2] This primitive detail seems out of keeping with the general character of the lad's surroundings in Wolfram.

[3] This detail is probably to be understood in *Carduino*, otherwise it is not clear how they could have sustained life in the desert for so long.

6. For this purpose he employs darts (gavelots), the origin of which is variously explained.	Chrétien ; Wolfram ; *Bliocadrans*; *Syr Percyvelle*; *Carduino*. *Saga*.
a. his mother brought them with her.	*a*. *Syr Percyvelle*.
b. they are found in the wood.	*b*. *Carduino*; *Syr Percyvelle* (mother says so).
c. fashioned for the purpose.	*c*. *Bliocadrans*; Wolfram (bow and arrows).[1] *Saga*.
7. His mother tells him there are no people in the world save themselves and God,	*Carduino*; *Bliocadrans*.
a. to whom she teaches him to pray.	*a*. *Syr Percyvelle*; Wolfram.
8. On his first meeting with men he takes them for God, or	*Syr Percyvelle*; Chrétien; Wolfram.[2]
a. flies from them.	*a*. *Carduino*.
9. Departs for King's Court	All the versions.
a. in peasant costume, or clothed in skins.	*a*. Chrétien; Wolfram; *Syr Percyvelle*; *Peredur*.[3]

[1] Wolfram's bow and arrows, which the boy makes himself, though unsupported by any other version, have a considerable air of probability. They are the most primitive form of weapon, and that most likely to be employed in the killing of small birds.

[2] The taking them for angels is, I think, a secondary form, dependent on the first, and brought about by the process of literary evolution. It is coupled with the primary alike in Chrétien and in Wolfram, and exists alone in *Peredur*. Here, as in the account of the hero's parentage, the Welsh version seems to represent an intermediate stage. Cf. note, p. 86.

[3] I have included Wolfram, for, as noted above, his 'fool's' dress is in all probability due to a simple misunderstanding.

b. His mother having given him good advice.	*b.* Chrétien; Wolfram; *Syr Percyvelle*; *Peredur.*
10. At court his behaviour attracts attention.	
a. he treats the king discourteously.	*a.* Chrétien; *Syr Percyvelle.*
b. does not know his name.	*b.* *Syr Percyvelle*; Wolfram[1] (did not know it when setting out, but learnt it on road); *Carduino* (knows, but conceals knowledge); Chrétien (doubtful).
c. has an enormous appetite.	*c.* *Carduino*; Wolfram.
11. Slays knight, as a rule king's foe.	Chrétien; *Syr Percyvelle*; Wolfram; *Peredur*; *Perlesvaus* (at an earlier point of story).
a. ignorant how to possess himself of armour thus won.	*a.* Chrétien; *Syr Percyvelle*; Wolfram; *Peredur.*
b. would burn body.	*b.* *Syr Percyvelle*; Chrétien (probably).

This gives us eleven primary traits, and seventeen subdivisions of these traits, twenty-eight headings in all. Of these *Syr Percyvelle* has retained eighteen, Wolfram seven-

[1] Where a trait, primitive in itself, has been misplaced for literary purposes, I think it is legitimate to cite its presence under the general heading. As we saw in the previous chapter, two MSS. place the incident at the first meeting with the knights. I think the probabilities are in favour of its having occurred at his arrival at court, as in *Syr Percyvelle*, and the closely related cycle of the '*Bel Inconnu.*'

teen, Chrétien and *Carduino* ten each, and *Peredur* only five!

Thus we see that, while no extant version gives a complete form, so far as a reproduction of the original *données* of the tale is concerned, *Syr Percyvelle* and the *Parzival* head the list, running each other very close: the first indeed has nine out of the eleven primary traits, representing the other two (Nos. 2 and 7) by a subdivision; Wolfram, on the other hand, lacks three primary (2, 4, and 7), but is rich in the smaller illustrative details. Chrétien and the *Carduino* retain the same number of early traits, but distributed differently, Chrétien lacking Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 7, *Carduino* 1, 3, 4, and 8.[1]

Again, Chrétien and *Syr Percyvelle* agree in two details, the discourtesy to the King and the suggestion of burning the dead knight, both markedly primitive and out of character with the general style of the French poem; while Wolfram shares two, the allusion to the stream and the slaying of the small birds,[2] with the English version; and two, the carrying home of the game, and the enormous appetite, with the Italian.

What are we to conclude from this analysis? First, surely, that the original tale of the Perceval *Enfances* no longer exists. Secondly, that no extant form faithfully

[1] As remarked above '4' is probably implied, as explaining their means of subsistence.

[2] The fact that while both *Syr Percyvelle* and Wolfram note the slaying of the small birds, almost all the versions remark upon their singing when the boy goes forth to the woods, seems to indicate that this incident, of which the German poet has made such admirable use, was in the original story. It would be more natural for a boy, scarcely emerged from childhood, to begin by killing birds, rather than deer.

reproduces that original, or can be held to be the common source from which our texts are derived. Thirdly, that the two for which this claim has been made, Chrétien and *Peredur*, are further removed from that original form than either *Syr Percyvelle* or *Carduino*. This is especially the case with the Welsh tale, which, in this section, is extraordinarily deficient in characteristic details.

Of the original form, so far as we are able to reconstruct it, *Syr Percyvelle* appears to be the best surviving representative: it contains the larger number of primary traits, and they are complicated with less extraneous matter. The *Carduino*, though wilder in character, is less complete.

The source common to Chrétien and Wolfram must have been—judging alike from the points in which they agree, and those in which, while differing from each other, they are in harmony with other versions—an extremely full and detailed form of the story. At the same time their divergence, of course, makes it possible that Chrétien and Kyot (the intermediate version for Wolfram) may have added details not found in that common source. Again, it is clear that that source must have been literature rather than folk-tale, a version of the story in which the primitive *données* had been brought more or less into harmony with the then existing social conditions. The theological element had been developed, the chivalric introduced, or insisted upon, and mother and son provided with surroundings more in keeping with their rank.

The English and Italian versions, on the other hand, though they, too, have been influenced by literary development, have been treated with far less skill and thoroughness, the features of the primitive tale being more or less faithfully preserved. I must not be understood as claiming

for either that they represent with exactness the original tradition, but I think we may safely hold that they stand a stage nearer to that tradition than either the French or the German poet. While the English poem, on the whole, corresponds best with the original scheme, so far as that scheme is now to be determined, it can, as we shall see in the following chapter, only be held to represent a secondary form, and that, probably, already in a contaminated stage.

On the whole it seems, so far as the *Enfances* are in question, that we are led to the paradoxical conclusion that one of the latest, and certainly the most highly developed of the versions, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, is at the same time the best representative of this section of the story. The style is inferior to that of the French poem but the work is the work of a man gifted with rare poetic feeling and a keen eye for detail, who was following a source characterised by precisely those peculiarities which appealed to his special gifts. So far as we can judge, he not only retained, and lovingly retained, every feature of the picturesque story supplied by his source, but he delighted in adding touches which should heighten the effect while obscuring none of the features. It is impossible to read the third book of the *Parzival* without feeling it is the work of a man in love with his subject.[1]

[1] Cf. the charming account, referred to above, of the boy's love for the wild birds, and the mother's instinctive jealousy. Also the meeting with the knights in the woods, and with the Red Knight. This last character is most sympathetically treated, though here I suspect that Kyot, working on Angevin tradition, laid down the ground-lines of the study. Cf. vol. i. of my translation of the *Parzival*, App. A.

Chrétien, on the other hand, is much less occupied with these earlier stages of his hero's career; the simplicity of the theme was, it may be suspected, out of harmony with the special character of his genius, and he does not dwell upon the details as does Wolfram. Rather, he seems anxious to bring the boy into the more artificial social atmosphere in which, as a court poet, he was most at home. Beyond any doubt he has deliberately omitted a number of the earlier features of the story.

These features are found in the fragment prefixed to the MSS. of Mons and the British Museum, and in one instance at least in a form which at once explains and supplements Chrétien's work. In the *Bliocadrans* fragment we find the mother teaching her boy, if he meet in the woods beings covered with iron, to cross himself, say his prayers and Credo, and return home, because they are devils. In Chrétien, when the lad hears the clang of the knights' armour, he exclaims that devils must be near at hand, and recalls his mother's teaching (which has not been previously mentioned), but he will not condescend to cross himself and will rather face them. When, however, he sees them, he declares they must be angels (a detail which has dropped out of the *Bliocadrans* teaching), kneels down, and says his prayers and Credo. The detail of the Credo is peculiar to these two versions. Thus the mother's lessons in the one poem exactly explain the boy's conduct in the other.

How shall we account for this correspondence? Hitherto the generally received opinion has been that this fragment was a later composition designed to fill up the gaps in Chrétien's poem. A theory which, on the face of it, did not fit in particularly well with the extensive claims for

originality made on behalf of the poet! Nor will it bear critical examination. Is it conceivable that a scribe, composing an introduction to so famous a poem as the *Perceval*, should have neglected the elementary necessity of reading that poem? If he had read it, is it conceivable that he should have devoted by far the larger section of his work, 726 lines out of 798, to an account of the hero's birth and parentage which is in flat contradiction to that given by Chrétien?

By what extraordinary chance, while contradicting Chrétien, did he come to agree, and to agree closely, with Wolfram? How, on the hypothesis of a deliberately composed work, a work which should have known the French poem but not the German, can these peculiarities be accounted for?

Further, we have already noted that in two points there is correspondence between the *Parzival* and the *Carduino*, while Chrétien shows no special point of contact with the Italian poem. Now, as we saw above, *Bliocadrans* also agrees with *Carduino*, and that in a very striking feature, the mother's assertion that they are alone in the world. How did the hypothetical writer of a preface to Chrétien hit upon this trait, which, suitable enough in the Italian version, is, as we saw above, meaningless here?

Again, it would surely be most unusual for a mother's teaching to be confined to warnings against the powers of Evil, she would almost of necessity begin by telling her boy of the existence of Good. This element is in Chrétien. A poem composed to supplement his work could hardly have omitted so essential a feature. It is, I submit, far more likely that the copyist of an already existing work

should have accidentally dropped out a detail than that the composer should have overlooked it.

The hypothesis of a deliberately composed introduction to the *Perceval* must be dismissed as utterly untenable. The only solution which can fit all aspects of the question, and account alike for the parallels with the French and German poems and the divergencies therefrom, is that proposed in the previous chapter, that this is a fragmentary survival of the common source of both, from which source Chrétien drew at first hand, Wolfram, through the intermediate poem of Kyot.[1]

It is, perhaps, a fact not entirely devoid of significance that the two MSS. containing this text should both of them be connected with the Netherlands; one is at Mons, the other bears the arms of the house of Flanders. There is thus a *primâ facie* possibility that both may have come in contact with the book, or what remained of the book, owned by Count Philip, and that a later copyist, aware that a connection of some sort existed between the poems, supplemented what was considered as a defect in Chrétien's work from the earlier version. On external grounds this theory appears to be quite possible, on internal evidence

[1] In my discussion of the relation of the two poets, included in vol. ii. of my translation of the *Parzival*, I reached, by an entirely different road, the same conclusion. I had not then had occasion to study closely the *Bliocadrans* text, and had not realised the extent and nature of its correspondence with Wolfram. So far as I am aware there is no evidence in French literature of any knowledge of the *Parzival* itself, but there is a considerable body of evidence attesting the existence of a poem closely akin to it. I have discussed this in my *Lancelot Studies*, and we shall shortly have occasion to return to the subject. That such a poem did exist is, I think, now beyond reasonable question.

it meets the case as no explanation hitherto offered has been able to do.

The truth is that the views as to the originality and independence of Chrétien de Troyes, which have hitherto held the ground, and which are only now beginning to give way before a more thorough and searching criticism, have very seriously hampered the work of critical investigation. We have been told so often, and so authoritatively, that no eye save Chrétien's ever beheld that mysterious volume in which the germ of the story of Perceval and the Grail was enshrined, research for a primary source has been so drastically discouraged,[1] that it is small wonder no one has ventured to assert, though doubtless many have suspected, that Chrétien's source was not a sealed book to all except himself, that it did not vanish, in some mystical and mysterious manner, but was subject to the common fate of ink and parchment, was read and handled by many, quoted from freely, and, presumably, perished from age or use, or went, as too many of its congeners have gone, to feed the flames.[2]

[1] *e.g.*, has not the writer of these studies been solemnly warned off ground sacred to scholars of another sex, and dare we say of another nation? She has been told that when Arthurian criticism is further advanced such crude efforts as hers will not be so much as mentioned! She has been accused of 'building in the air' without any foundation in fact, while the learned reviewer turned with relief to the solid labours of one who really 'dealt with facts, and knew his sources'—the facts in question being the statement that Chrétien's continuators had no sources save his poem, and the authority relied upon, the mendacious 'Mons'!

[2] A pencil note on fol. 1 of the Montpellier MS. refers to the *Bibliothèque de Du Verdier* (Lyons, 1585), p. 162. This relates how a certain Claude Faucher had found printers filling their *tympan* with

And after all what have students of the cycle, as a body, known hitherto of the *Perceval* story? Nothing save what the copyist of Mons was pleased to let us know:[1] and that copyist being possessed by an artistically defensible, but in this case wholly unfortunate, idea of preserving the unities, carefully eliminated from his copy all that could give ground for the belief that the poem was not a homogeneous composition but a compilation from many, and widely differing, sources, even removing from the final passages the name of Manessier, and substituting for it that of Chrétien.[2]

Little marvel, then, that the Chrétien tradition has so long held its ground, and been treated as a substantial fact, instead of, as it is, a baseless and shadowy fancy.

But leaving for a moment a question to which the remorseless logic of criticism will force us to return again and again, what, in the light of the evidence here set forth, shall we hold for the truth as regards this special stage of the *Perceval* legend?

a leaf of parchment, on which were verses: as they seemed to him to be good he asked for the rest, and thus recovered eight pages of the *Conte del Graal* and *Chevalier au Lion*.

[1] There are, of course, notable exceptions, M. Gaston Paris certainly knew the Bibliothèque Nationale texts, as attested by the quotations in his studies of the episodic romances, *Histoire Littéraire*, vol. xxx. Abbé de la Rue, though perhaps not a critic in the modern sense, knew his MSS., and has left hints of considerable value. Waitz's study, though composed under the influence of preconceived ideas, and unfortunately restricted to the least fruitful section of Wauchier's work, had at least the merit of demonstrating the inferiority of the Mons text.

[2] At the same time he retained the mention of 'Gautier.' As a matter of fact, not counting references to 'le livre' or 'le conte,' there are five explicit references, by name, to three different sources.

Is it not this? That the tale, based on a mythical theme, took shape as a folk-tale in a social *milieu* where matriarchy held sway. In this stage we do not know what was the name of the hero,[1] nor how the story ended: probably with his reunion with his mother, and regaining the joint inheritance. At a later period, the date of which we are not at present in a position to determine, the story became amplified, and worked over in literary form. By the end of the twelfth century it had travelled far from the primitive stage. It is in this later form that we know it, and of the versions in which it has come down to us four stand out as especially faithful to the original type, the poems of Chrétien and Wolfram, the *Syr Percyvelle*, and *Carduino*. The two first are the most elaborate, and represent the final stage of the story, in which it has become doubly complicated by contact alike with the Gawain and the Grail tradition. The two shorter tales show no trace of the Grail, and little of the Gawain, influence. It is only between the first two of these poems that any connection can be traced, and even there it is no case of dependence the one on the other. Much as they resemble each other our *Perceval* stories all appear to be independent versions of the same original theme, and as such are, I think, the more important and valuable.[2]

[1] Here, as elsewhere, Wagner's dramatic genius has struck the right note when he puts into the mouth of Parsifal asked by Gurnemanz, '*Dein Namen?*' the words, '*Ich hatte vielen, doch weiss ich ihrer keinen mehr!*' He has indeed had many names.

[2] Much of the ground covered in this chapter has been previously gone over by other scholars. I would especially cite Mr. Alfred Nutt, in his *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, and Dr. Schofield, in *Studies on the Bel Inconnu*. If I have not used, or quoted their work, it is simply because, the main object to which my study is devoted

In the next chapter we will discuss what was the primary form assumed by the extended tale.

differing from theirs (Mr. Nutt having in view the connection with the Grail story, Dr. Schofield that with the *Bel Inconnu*, while I am endeavouring to treat the *Perceval* legend in, and for, itself), a somewhat different, and more minute and searching, method was demanded.

64664

CHAPTER IV

THE LOVES OF THE HERO

THE heading of this chapter may seem somewhat inconsistent with the ideas most generally associated with the name of Perceval: as the versions best known to us represent him, vowed to celibacy, he knows no earthly love, and is pledged to no service save that of God and the Holy Grail.

Yet it was not always so. In the beginning it was far otherwise, and the love adventures connected with the name of Perceval, if less frequent than those which befell the kindred hero, Gawain, are yet sufficiently numerous, and sufficiently important, to afford us a clue of no little value to the various stages in the evolution of his legend. It is Chrétien's poem we are studying, and his version of the story shall be our starting-point.

According to the French poet, Perceval, on leaving the castle of the knight Gornemans,[1] who has instructed him in chivalry, comes to the burg of a maiden, Blancheflor, niece to his late host. She is in dire distress, being besieged by the army of a rejected lover, Clamadeus,

[1] Gonemans de Gelbort, given by Mons, is entirely unsupported by other versions. The persistent form is Gorn*e*(or *u*)man*s*, or Gorn*e*(*u*)man*t* de Gorhaut, or Grohaut, usually the former.

and almost at the point of surrender, through stress of famine.

During the night she comes to Perceval's bedside, weeping, and tells him of her desperate plight, she will stab herself on the morrow, rather than fall into Clamadeus's hands. Perceval undertakes to aid her, but will demand her 'druerie' in return; he will take no other payment. The next day he overthrows the seneschal, Aguinguerron,[1] sends him prisoner to King Arthur, and on the arrival of Clamadeus himself treats him in the same way.

It might naturally be expected that he would now wed the lady he has rescued, and whose love he has won, but instead of this he announces his intention of first seeking his mother, promising to return when he shall have found her. We have next the visit to the Grail Castle, followed by the incident of the blood-drops on the snow, and the love-trance into which Perceval is thrown by the contemplation of them. From this moment, so far as Chrétien is concerned, we hear no more of the lady, even at a point in the story where we might reasonably expect her to be mentioned, *i.e.* in his interview with the Hermit, she is never once referred to. After the visit to the Hermit, Chrétien does not again return to Perceval, the latter part of his poem being entirely occupied with Gawain.

This is curious enough in itself, much more curious is the manner in which Blancheflor is treated by the continuators of Chrétien. Wauchier de Denain, who, after a long section devoted to Gawain, takes up the Perceval story

[1] This name varies, being sometimes given as Enguigeron, sometimes as Guingeron; this last is evidently at the root of Wolfram's Kingron. Cf. Tristan, *Löseth*, pp. 24, 475, Aguynguerron for the treacherous seneschal of the King of Ireland.

again at l. 21,917 makes no reference to her for upwards of three thousand lines, when he brings Perceval again to her castle and country, now restored and repeopled.

But, be it noted, Perceval does not arrive at this goal in consequence of effort or design on his part. On the contrary he is taken entirely by surprise at finding himself where, by all rules of chivalry and manly honesty, he ought to have been long before. Nevertheless we are given to understand that he was overjoyed at the reunion with his love, the passage is really very charming, and deserves to be quoted:

'Or estoit Percevaus moult sire,
or a il moult de son savoir,
or ne se set de coi doloir,
or a il joie et grant leeche,
or n'a il mais nule tristrece,
or voit il s'amie la gente,
qui plus blance ert que flors sor ente,
or a celi pour qui pensa
sor les . III . gotes qu'il trova
sor la noif de sanc engielee.'[1]

On his questioning Blancheflor, she explains to him that when he left her,

'De vous ne poc estre espousee,
car vos voloirs n'ert encor mie.
jou remes seule et esmarie,
vous alastes en autre terre
ne sai u, aventure querre
por vostre grant pris amonter,'[2]

she took counsel of her nobles, and rebuilt her city. The two spend the night together, under conditions which are

[1] Ed. Potvin, l. 24,950-9.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 25,064-9.

diversely narrated, some texts stating that they confine themselves to kisses,[1] others hinting not obscurely that they conform to the usual relations subsisting between a knight and his 'amie.' All, however, make it quite clear that Perceval is under a promise to wed Blancheflor, and that she naturally expects him to keep his word.

One would therefore suppose that, having found his love, and been welcomed literally with open arms, he would hasten to atone for his previous neglect by wedding her as speedily as might be, and taking up his duties as ruler of her kingdom; not at all, he coolly informs the long-suffering maiden that he has

> '—Une voie entreprise
> que, pour trestout l'avoir de Frise,
> ne le lairoie mie à faire;
> mais quant ère mis au repaire
> droitement à vous revenrai.'[2].

To which Blancheflor meekly replies that it were not fitting for a loyal 'amie' to contradict in aught so valiant a knight. In the same manner when her nobles petition Perceval to wed their lady and remain in the land, he pleads an urgent and pressing quest which must needs prevent him.

So he bids Blancheflor farewell, and rides off, in quest of what? The Grail? Only in the second place. In the first instance, and before all, he swears to God, and His Mother, and all the Saints,

[1] B. N. 12,576 is consistent in upholding the theory of Perceval's virginity, even, as we shall see, in the face of considerable difficulties. B. N. 12,577 and Montpellier decidedly favour the latter view; Mons is doubtful.

[2] Potvin, ll. 25,101-5.

'Que jamais jor puis icele eure
et que ses cors soit au deseure,
en . I . ostel n'arriestera
c'une nuit, tant que il ara
trouvet la teste et le brachet.'[1]

That is, he has embarked on a love affair with another lady, and till he has fulfilled her behest, and been repaid with her favours, he is not at leisure to pursue his quest for the Grail, much less to fulfil his promise to Blancheflor! Mild as that maiden was, it is doubtful whether, had she understood the true position of affairs, she would have been over ready to welcome him back! For cool cynicism it must be admitted that the immaculate Perceval could give points to the much maligned Gawain; it would require the ready wit and sharp tongue of an Orgueilleuse de Logres to deal effectively with so evasive a lover.

But does he then not return to Blancheflor at all? Once more, in Manessier, when summoned to her aid against Arides of Cavalon, and here again he refuses to stay with her, alleging as an excuse that he must be at Arthur's court for Pentecost; but in truth here the Grail has intervened, it is to the office of Grail King he is summoned, and in the sanctity of guardian of the holy relic he dies, and never sees Blancheflor again.

It is, I think, abundantly evident that something has happened to dislocate the story, and that, as now presented to us, it has been diverted from its natural course. The tale as told of any knight would be unsatisfactory; told of one whose character, alike for morality, and fidelity, stands as high as does that of Perceval, it is practically impossible.

What then has happened to so distort the tale? An

[1] Potvin, ll. 25,335-9.

examination of the adventure referred to will, I think, clear up the puzzle, and provide us with a satisfactory answer to the question.

The adventure as related by Wauchier[1] is as follows. Perceval having narrowly escaped drowning at the hands of a treacherous maiden,[2] crosses a river in search of the court of the Fisher King, but is diverted from his path by the sight of a fair castle near at hand. On entering he finds a great hall, wherein are many shining weapons, but no sign of man or woman. He rests there a while, then seeing an open doorway, enters a smaller chamber, in which he finds a chessboard of gold and azure, the chessmen of precious stones, ruby and emerald.[3] He moves a chessman, and to his surprise the move is responded to on the other side. He continues the game, and eventually to his disgust is checkmated. When this has happened three times he loses his temper, gathers up the chessmen, and vowing they shall never checkmate knight more, is about to throw them into the moat below the window, when a richly dressed maiden rises from the water, and bids him stay his hand. Perceval says he will not throw

[1] Potvin, ll. 22,394, *et seq.*

[2] This adventure shows some interesting variants. The maiden is generally found in a ruined palace, and in some MSS. the details are very picturesque, including a long avenue of statues, over two thousand, through which Perceval passes. The hall is ruined, but the doorway is intact. B. M. Add. 36,614 gives the best version concluding by the detail that when the ferryman warns Perceval not to enter the boat, as the lady wishes to drown him, she vanishes, 'Si s'est tantost esvanuie.'

[3] This detail is not in the majority of the MSS., but is in B. M. Add. 36,614, which here gives an extremely good text, and also in Edinburgh.

the chessmen away if she will come and bear him company. This she agrees to do, and the knight lifts her in at the window.[1]

They seat themselves on the couch, and Perceval, seeing her beauty, becomes violently enamoured of her,

> 'a soi le trait, si le baisa,
> de tant com puet se conforta,
> et plus fesist, se il peuist,
> et se cele li consentist.'[2]

The lady, however, declines to grant him her favours till he brings her the head of the stag which is to be found in the park bordering the river, which is the property of 'mesire mes pere.' The stag is white as snow, and neither king nor count can catch it.[3] Perceval readily agrees, and the maiden offers him her brachet, also white, to aid him in the chase. He departs, and slays the stag without difficulty, but the dog is stolen from him by a 'pucele de malaire'; and in his efforts to regain it he also loses the stag's head, of which he is robbed by a knight. The adventures he undergoes in search of these trophies occupy a considerable portion of the remainder of the poem, and seriously interfere with the Grail Quest. Finally he recovers both, finds the castle, learns at considerable length the history of the chessboard, and is rewarded according to his desires by the lady,

[1] Some texts give a very confused account of the lady's appearance. The copyists were evidently puzzled as to where she came from. Add. 36,614 is quite clear on the point, and the majority agree in saying that Perceval lifts her in at the window.

[2] Potvin, ll. 22,543-6.

[3] These last details are from Add. 36,614.

'vint cele a lui, si se couça,
envers lui sa foi aquita
tout si com li ot devisé,
et com elle ot acreanté.'[1]

Thus we see that over eight thousand of the twenty-four thousand lines of Wauchier's continuation, that is, precisely one third of the entire poem, is influenced by an adventure which not merely does not agree with, but throws into utter confusion, the version of the story he is ostensibly completing. Nor does Wauchier stand alone here, both the 'Didot' *Perceval*, and the *Peredur* know of the quest for the stag's head, though neither of them gives the story in so detailed, or so picturesque, a manner. Thus in the first named romance the maiden does not rise from the water, but is 'desor lui as fenestres de la tor.' Perceval bids her come down, and she refuses; he says if she will do nothing for him he will do nothing for her. The lady enters by the door with ten maidens and four serjants. He prays her love courteously, and she says if she knew him to be as good in deeds as in words she would willingly grant his prayer. She then imposes the task upon him. When he

[1] Potvin, ll. 30,449-52. B. N. 12,576, in contradiction to all the other MSS., says distinctly that Perceval preserves his virginity,

'si vus di bien par verité
que carnelment n'i toucha mie.'

Yet on arriving he has demanded his guerdon as promised. Nouv. Acq. 6614, which is the duplicate of 12,576, gives the same version as the other texts, and this is also the case with Wisse-Colin, which as a rule agrees with 12,576. The reason appears to be that the copyist of this last is bent on making his version harmonise throughout with the interpolation of Gerbert. This is so marked that I am almost inclined to believe that we have here the original 'Gerbert' MS.

returns to her he will not remain the night, it would be against his vow.

The Welsh variant is very poor; the chessmen play against each other, which renders Perceval's irritation with them quite unreasonable. The stag is a monster, with one horn sharp as a sword, with which it slays all beasts, and by drinking up the water of the fountains drowns all the fish. Peredur is incited to the task, not by the lady whose favours he seems most desirous of winning, the Empress, (the love affairs of the *Peredur* are most confused), but by a mysterious Black Maiden. The slaying of the stag is the final feat, after achieving which he reaches his uncle's castle, and learns the secret of the enchantments. This appears to me further from the original form than the version of the 'Didot' MS. Even more remarkable than the correspondence with these two texts is the fact that the *Perlesvaus*, which regards the hero distinctly in the light of a celibate champion of Christianity, has also preserved traces of the story. The Maiden of the Car, who announces the future coming of the 'Good Knight,' says he will be known by his shield, red, with a white hart, and leaves a brachet at the court to await his arrival.[1] I think we are entitled to assume that the story was early and closely associated with Perceval.

Now in the account as given by Wauchier (the best and most complete), there are two points of importance, first the nature of the lady who imposes the task, second, that of the task itself. It is obvious from the manner of her appearance upon the scene that the lady of the chess-

[1] Dr. Nitze, in his study of the *Perlesvaus*, has also noted this, but sees in it a proof that the author knew Wauchier, which does not follow of necessity.

board is no mere mortal: richly dressed maidens do not, under normal circumstances, rise from the water. Further, when she gives the history of the magic chessboard we find that it was the gift of Morgain la Fée, with whom she had for long been closely associated. The figures of the MSS. vary, but all agree in dowering the lady with abnormal length of life, thus Mons makes her one hundred and thirty-five years old, and 12,577 says in words that she built her castle 'bien a cent ans des avant hier.' She is certainly, to borrow the picturesque Irish term, one of the Ever-living Ones.[1]

And if the nature of the lady be significant, even more so is the task she imposes on her knight. The hunting of the white stag is an incident which may simply be said to pervade early romantic, and especially insular and Celtic, tradition. Wherever found there is generally with it an intermingling of elements more or less mythic or mysterious. In the *Lanzelet* Arthur and his court are hunting the white stag when Guinevere is carried off by Valerîn to his Otherworld dwelling. In the *Tristan* of Gottfried von Strassburg it is in the chase of a white stag, large as a horse, that Mark and his huntsman come upon the mystical 'Minne-grotte' and surprise the lovers in their slumber. It is in chasing a fawn (here golden),[2] that the sons of Lugaid find the 'Sovereignty' of Ireland.

In the stories of the Fianna, or '*Ossianic*' cycle, the mystic stag-hunt plays an extraordinarily prominent rôle. A popular tradition, alive to-day, states that the chase

[1] Nouv. Acq. 6614 makes her one hundred and seventy years old!

[2] Cf. *Legend of Sir Gawain*, p. 49. Cf. the stag in '*Tyolet*':

'qui tant a le poil luisant
por poi qu'il ne semble doré' 354-5

lasted for five-and-thirty years. Lady Gregory's book *Gods and Fighting Men*[1] abounds in stories of this kind; one of them, the 'Red Woman,'[2] offers so curious a parallel to our tale that it is worth citing.

Finn and his men have followed a Red Woman, who is herself in chase of a mysterious beast, with the head of a boar, the body of a stag, and a moon on either flank. They reach, and are entertained in, a hill dwelling (Sidhb), and finally overtake and slay the beast, which proves to be the king of the Fir-bolg in an enchanted form. They are overcome with fatigue and hunger, and the Red Woman says she will supply them with venison. Accordingly she starts a deer, and when the hounds of the Fianna fail to overtake it, produces from the folds of her mantle a small dog, white as snow, which speedily succeeds in pulling down the game. We are told that Finn and his men, suspecting enchantment, decline to partake of the quarry, and leave it lying—wisely perhaps! Here then we have a lady of undoubtedly fairy origin (she changes herself into a water-worm when Finn would seize her), who proposes a stag-hunt, and lends her dog to achieve it.

Not only is the hunting of the white stag significant in the form most generally known to us, but there are hints of an earlier stage in which it possessed another, and more distinctive, meaning. In certain versions of the story, notably those preserved in *Tyolet*[3] and the Dutch

[1] *Gods and Fighting Men.* The story of the Tuatha de Danaan and of the Fianna of Ireland, 1904.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 274. Quoted by Lady Gregory from Hyde, *Sgealuidhe Gaedhealach.*

[3] Published by M. Gaston Paris, in *Romania*, vol. viii. English translation in vol. iii. of *Arthurian Romances.*

Lancelot,[1] the hero is charged to cut off, and bring back, the foot of the stag, which is here guarded by lions. In my study of the Lai I suggested that the story was probably in its origin a 'transformation' tale, that the stag was a relative of the lady who imposed the quest (in these two versions there is no reason to think she is other than a mortal), and that the spell would be broken by cutting off the foot. The fact that in the *Queste* the white stag, guarded by lions, is transformed into our Lord and the Four Evangelists lends colour to the supposition that this was the original meaning of the tale.

With regard to this point Professor Singer has made a most interesting suggestion: in discussing[2] the question with him he told me he entirely agreed with this view of the original form of the tale, and he considered that such an explanation would throw light on the opening adventure of the *Erec*. It will be remembered that Arthur suggests hunting the stag,

> 'li rois a ses chevaliers dist
> qu'il voloit le blanc cerf chacier
> por la costume ressaucier.'[3]

(There is on the face of it something mysterious about a stag, the chase of which can be referred to as 'la costume.') Gawain, however, objects, reminding the King that he who slays the white stag is entitled to kiss the

[1] Vol. ii. ll. 22,271-23,126. Cf. *Studies on the Legend of Sir Lancelot*, chap. iii.

[2] I am indebted to Professor Singer, not only for assistance in gaining access to the Berne MSS., the library being closed during vacation, but also for information as to sources previously unknown to me.

[3] *Erec et Enide*, ed. Foerster, 1896, ll. 36-8.

fairest maiden at court; inasmuch as there are five hundred maidens, each of whom has knight or 'ami' ready to prove by force of arms that his lady is the fairest, the results are likely to be disastrous. Gawain was clearly an expert in such matters! Now Professor Singer suggests that the real meaning of the tale has been lost: it was a transformation tale, and the stag itself, the spell once broken, would prove to be the fairest maiden. Her rescuer might well claim a kiss as reward for his services without exciting ill-will among either knights or ladies. This solution seems to me both natural and probable. Chrétien was certainly, in more than one instance, dealing with matter the real character of which he did not understand, and the numerous parallels in folk-tale show that such an explanation is in no way far-fetched. I would instance here the story of *Macphie's Black Dog*, where a stag turns into a maiden whenever the huntsman raises his gun to shoot.[1]

In this connection another story of the Finn cycle, that of the birth of Oisin, is worth recording. The mother of the hero, Sadbh, has been turned into a deer as a punishment for rejecting the love of a powerful Druid. Knowing that the enchantment will cease if she can reach the dun of the Fianna, she flies thither, regains her proper shape, and weds the king. Her Druid lover, however, will not be balked of his revenge; and during her husband's absence forces her, by powerful spells, to quit her shelter, and follow him to the woods in her enchanted form. There, while still a deer, she gives birth to Oisin, who grows up in the wilderness knowing no care save hers. At length, when a strong-limbed boy, he is found by the Fianna, while hunting, their hounds refusing to touch him.

[1] *Celtic Review* (Scottish), vol. i.

He tells how he has been with a deer who loved him much, and Finn, recognising him as his son, brings him home.[1]

The interesting point of this is that here we have a deer-transformation tale combined with an *Enfances* resembling that of Perceval. But we have also evidence in favour of the view that transformation tale and stag-hunt alike were connected with the hero we know as Perceval before his story had progressed beyond the point reached in our previous chapter. I have already referred to the Lai of *Tyolet*. This Lai falls into two well-marked divisions, the

[1] *Gods and Fighting Men*, p. 174, quoting from Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, and Campbell, *Leabbar na Feinne*. The peasantry of to-day, speaking of Oisin, say, 'He was the son of a deer, and he lived in the woods for twenty-one years among the deer, and then he came and lived among the men. And it was in the form of a deer that the woman came that brought him away to Tir-nan-og, he lepped [*sic*] into the water after her, and when he was in the stream he saw she was a woman.' I owe this to the kindness of Lady Gregory, who allowed me the use of a then unpublished MS., *Living Legends of the Fianna*. Oisin is also the hero of a tale similiar to that of *Guingamor*—'he was four thousand years among the ever-living ones, and thought it only four hours.' Also of a '*Mantle*' test, the cloak here refusing to cover a man who had sinned in any way. Oisin's toe is left bare, and he cuts it off, without any effect, however! The parallels between the Arthurian cycle, and that of the Fianna would certainly repay study; they appear to be closer than any found in the Ultonian. Cf. *Voyage of Bran*, chap. xiii. With regard to the incident of a woman in the form of a deer leading Oisin to the Other-world, we may recall the well-known and picturesque story of Thomas the Rhymer, who was summoned to Fairy-land by a white hart and hind. I think it quite possible that the hunt in the *Lanzelet* belongs to this category, the white stag there was the emissary of Valerîn, sent to decoy Guinevere to the Other-world. It may be noted that the Irish Stag-hunt stories almost without exception retain the transformation feature.

first relating the youth of the hero, who is brought up by his mother in the solitude of the woods. He is, apparently, under fairy protection, for a fairy has taught him the art of whistling in such a manner that no beast of the woodland but will come at the call. He sees a stag one day, and pursuing it, it crosses the stream and changes into an armed knight. Then follows a conversation as to the nature and equipment of a knight (which is on the ordinary lines of the *Perceval* story), and the lad's subsequent departure for Arthur's court. The second part of the Lai deals with the arrival of a maiden, who proposes the adventure of the stag-hunt, the stag being here guarded by seven lions. She lends her brachet as guide. After the quest and failure of other knights have been recounted, Tyolet undertakes the adventure, in which he succeeds, and eventually weds the maiden who has proposed the test. The story has here become complicated by the introduction of the '*False Claimant*' motif, and is no longer in a simple form. The incident of the theft of the stag's head in Wauchier, however, gives us a hint of how the *Perceval* story, supposing its earliest form to be that here preserved, might easily develop on these lines. The knight who possessed alike the head and the brachet might well have claimed the reward.[1]

On the whole, I think we are justified in holding that a very persistent, and apparently very early, tradition connected the hero of our study with a fairy maiden, whose love was only to be won as the reward for capturing or slaying a white stag; to aid him in his quest she lent him her dog. The task, fulfilled in the first instance without much difficulty, was unexpectedly prolonged by the interference

[1] I have discussed this subject in chap. iii. of my *Lancelot* studies.

of a maiden and a knight, who deprived the hero of the proofs that he had accomplished his quest. Why they act in this manner is not, in our present version, clear; they may earlier have played a more intelligible rôle, or they may only have been introduced with a view to permitting the insertion of other adventures. Finally, after long seeking, the hero recovers the lost trophies and is rewarded according to his desires. This story shows signs of having been in a still earlier form a transformation tale. On the face of it, it is of an older and more 'popular' type than the literary and chivalric story of the rescue of Blancheflor from her unwelcome suitor.

The solution of the present confused and perplexing form of the *Perceval* story lies, I would suggest, in the overlapping of three well-marked stages through which that story has passed, and which may be respectively designated as the Folk-lore (popular), the Literary, and the Mystical stage. In the first, or Folk-lore, the hero, like many another hero of folk-tale, had for his love a fairy maiden, and won her by the performance of a task somewhat capriciously imposed. In the second, or Literary stage, the fairy became a mortal maiden, and the hero won her in ordinary chivalric fashion, by freeing her from the persecution to which she was subjected by an unwelcome lover. He won, and in the normal course of such stories, wedded her. In the third, the Mystical stage, the introduction of an element which I am now beginning to think was entirely foreign to the original tale, the Grail Quest, modified, and finally transformed, the story. The folk-tale which, woven originally of mythic elements, had developed into a chivalric romance, took a further step, and assumed an ecclesiastical and mystical character.

The hero became a champion of Christianity, 'le nouvel loi,' and Holy Church, and as such displayed the qualities most approved by the religious views of the time: he became not merely chaste, but an ascetic celibate, and any connection with women was dropped altogether.

The fact that any story should undergo so progressive, and so thorough a transformation, points, I think, to the extreme popularity of the original tale. The romancers for long found it more to their interest to modify and transform Perceval than to invent a new hero. When they did so, in the person of Galahad, they still retained the protagonist of the tale in a position of little less interest and dignity.

There is, therefore, I think, no reason to be surprised at the resultant confusion. Chrétien came on the scene at a late stage of the evolution, knew, and dealt with the tale merely in its literary shape; Wauchier, who, as I have shown in my articles on Bleheris, was certainly drawing upon a source anterior to Chrétien, went back to the original folk-tale version: he knew that the lady of the chessboard was Perceval's original love, and he gave the story at full length. The *lai* of *Tyolet* affords us a hint of the probable form of the original tale. It was in two distinct sections, and while the first, the *Enfances*, underwent literary expansion and modification, the second, the *Stag-hunt*, retained its primitive folk-tale form, and does not appear to have ever formed an integral part of a *Perceval* poem. Wherever it is introduced into such it confuses and complicates the action.

But the interesting point as regards Chrétien's poem is, how did he intend the Perceval-Blancheflor story to end? Is he at the point where they marry, as in the *Syr Percy-*

velle, or has he progressed beyond, and arrived at a stage where the Grail conception is beginning to dominate the situation? It is not very easy to decide. As we shall see in the next chapter there is good reason for supposing that the Grail tradition had reached a decidedly advanced point of evolution when it came into Chrétien's hands. There is also reason to believe that in the source common to him and Wolfram von Eschenbach the two were wedded.

Here the interpolation of Gerbert is of extreme value; his version is certainly a distortion of one very closely akin to that preserved by the German poet.

Perceval's failure to find the Grail is here ascribed by Gornemans to his delay in fulfilling the promise of marriage made to Blancheflor. Perceval recognises this, and gives as his ground for wedding his desire to live chastely, distinguishing sharply between chastity and celibacy. Thus he says priests and clerks ofttimes do that which they should not:

'sachiez c'on feroit maintes fois
tel chose com on n'ose faire,
e si sont gent de tel afaire
que mult sont le religieux
e se sont mult luxeurieus;
mais ie ne les vueil pas reprendre;
pour che vueil ie me feme prendre
pour moi netement contenir,
pour garder et pour astenir
de pechié.'[1]

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 176. Cf. also the passage in which Perceval demands the lady's hand from her barons:

'Seignurs, fit il, ie vieng requerre
vo dame a feme en bone foi,
ensi com ie faire le doi;

He accordingly betakes himself to Bel-repaire (as it is always written in Gerbert), and the wedding is celebrated with great state. Not only does Gerbert describe fully the marriage ceremony, but he goes further, and tells how the nuptial couch was blessed by an imposing array of archbishops and bishops. Among the former we have 'cil de Rodas,' 'de Dinas-Clamadas,' and among the latter the more familiar names of 'S. Andrieu en Escoche,' 'S. Pol de Lion,' 'S. Aaron en Gales.'

Yet after all this, when bride and bridegroom are left alone, they are simultaneously seized with the conviction that celibacy were the better part, and mutually agree to refrain from consummating the marriage. They rise, pray, and lie down again. Immediately upon this decision a mysterious voice is heard, foretelling to Perceval the future glory of his descendants: from his race shall spring the Deliverer of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Knight of the Swan.

It is clear that Gerbert's version, as it now stands, is a distortion of an earlier form; no story-teller in his sane senses would deliberately construct so elaborate a setting for the bringing together of two people whom, for the good of their souls, he held to be better apart. Nor is

---

par votre otroi e par le sien
le vueil faire, car plus de bien
me doit venir, si com me samble,
se nus somes andoi ensamble
par sacrement de mariage
que se je met en fol usage
mon cors, et ele sa biauté.'

12,576, fo. 178.

There can be no doubt as to the intention of the poet who originally composed these lines.

Perceval's action consistent with his expressed reasons for desiring matrimony. Again, according to Gerbert, the hero's sole relations are a sister and an uncle, both vowed to the religious life; it is thus not easy to see how the prophecy regarding his descendants can be fulfilled. Obviously Gerbert, who wrote at a late stage of the evolution of the *Perceval* story, when the Grail tradition had transformed the original legend, is here giving the 'improved' version of a poem which, in its original form, treated the marriage of Perceval and Blancheflor as a marriage in fact and not in word only, and the Swan Knight as a direct descendant of the Grail hero.

Such a poem, of course, exists in the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, where the marriage is a veritable marriage, and the Swan Knight Perceval's son. But, as I said above, there is no proof that any French writer of the thirteenth century knew the German poem. The obvious conclusion is, the possibility of invention being here excluded, that Gerbert was using a French poem very closely resembling Wolfram's work. What was this poem? Was it the *direct* source of the *Parzival, i.e.* the hypothetical work of Kyot the Provençal, or was it the *indirect* source, the book of Count Philip?

There are arguments which point both ways: Gerbert always refers to Blancheflor's city as Bel-repaire, a form which must be at the root of Wolfram's Pelrepär; Chrétien consistently employs the form Biau-repaire. One or two MSS., indeed, occasionally, but very rarely, give the other reading, reverting to the more usual form.[1] Gerbert gives Gornemans sons, as in the *Parzival*, Chrétien apparently

[1] *e.g.* Berne, 354, and Riccardiana. It is interesting here to note that *Bel-repaire* is the original name of the town we know as *Belper*.

knows of no children. In the *Roman de la Violette* Gerbert introduces an old woman, who is thus described:

'laide et oscure avoit la chiere;
molt estoit desloiaus sorchiere
Gondree avoit la vieille a non.'[1]

Which recalls 'Kondrie la surziere' of the German poet. Chrétien does not name the Grail messenger. Also the fact that the story of the Swan Knight is here given in the form connected with the family of Godefroy de Bouillon would seem to point to the crusading influences which are so strong in the *Parzival*.

Yet, on the other hand, the very fact of the introduction of a story so closely connected with the Low Countries as that of the Swan Knight would appear to indicate a source originating in those lands. Even as Kyot might modify the original version under the influence of crusading conditions, so might Wolfram equally remodel his work in accordance with the popular German *Lohengrin*. Again, Gerbert knows the story of the Hag with the mysterious life-giving potion, an incident also found in the English poem, but to which Wolfram offers no parallel. Also, with the possible exception of Kondrie, Gerbert, though his section supplies many names unknown to the other writers of the cycle, nowhere gives any which can be identified with the rich and varied nomenclature of the *Parzival*.

On the whole there is perhaps more evidence in favour of Gerbert's use of Kyot, but the possibility that he was familiar with the common source of both poems is by no means excluded.

One point, however, appears to be practically certain,

[1] Quoted from MSS. 1553, Bibl. Nat. (fonds français), fo. 290.

the Grail Quest, when first adopted into the *Perceval* story, was not held to be incompatible with the natural affection of man and maid. There was no reason why Perceval, as Grail King, should not wed, even as Alain le Gros, his father, had wedded. In truth I suspect that at first it was so intended, in order to preserve the continuity of the Grail-Keepers. In the *Parzival*, though he reigns as monarch of a truly mystic kingdom, Kondwiramûr has her place beside him as Queen and Consort.

But reverting to the main question of the hero's connection, first with a fairy, then with a mortal, love, we have, besides the ordinary version of the *Perceval*, two curious fragments of evidence, the value of which is uncertain, but which it will be well to cite.

The first, which may be held a variant of the original tradition, is found in the *Carados* section of the *Perceval*. It will be remembered that Carados rescues the maiden, Guimier, whom he afterwards weds, from the unwelcome attentions of a rejected lover, Aalardin du Lac, who has wounded her brother, Cador, and is carrying her off against her will. After Carados in his turn has vanquished Aalardin they make friends, and the latter conducts the whole party to a marvellous pavilion, of which he is the owner.

The doorway is guarded by two magic figures, the one holding a dart, the other a harp. Would a treacherous knight essay to enter he is pierced to the heart by the dart; if the guest be a demoiselle who is no longer a maid, a string of the harp will break. The mistress of this tent, who is skilled in the art of healing, is sister to Aalardin, and is known by the name of 'La Pucele du Pavillon.' After remaining some days till the wounds of the knights

are healed, the whole party set out for Arthur's court, where a great tournament is to be held. This tournament, which, when included, is related at great length, is not found in all the texts, *e.g.* it is not in Mons. The interest of the story for us lies in the fact that here Perceval appears upon the scene, and is apparently much taken with the 'Pucele du Pavillon,' sending her the horses of the knights he overthrows. At the end Aalardin and Cador, who have respectively fallen in love with two maidens of Arthur's court, are wedded, as is also the 'Pucele du Pavillon,' but there is a mystery about the husband of this last; this is what the MSS. say—

'e de celi du pavillon
a fait ensement le roi don,
par le gré son frere Aalardin,
par grant savoir, al buen meschin
(nel weil nomer a ceste fois);
or sont mariees ces trois.'[1]

This is also the version of Nouv. Acq. 6614, while Wisse-Colin is equally mysterious:

'die von der gezelt gap er
mit Alardines wille ger
einne hoch-gebornen ritter fîn
dez namen sol verborgen sîn.'[2]

Who is this knight whose name may not be told? B. N. 12,577, and the MSS. of that group answer the question:

[1] B. N. 12,576, fol. 60.
[2] Wisse-Colin, p. 110, 140 c.

'la pucele du paveillon
de celi fist le roi le don
par le plesir Aalardin
et par le suen au bon meschin
au bon Perceval le Galois
or sont asenees ces trois.'[1]

Here there is no doubt about it, Perceval is wedded to a lady who is sister to an enchanter, and herself owes her title to a mysterious and magic dwelling. For that Aalardin is an enchanter seems certain from the story of his subsequent meeting with Carados, where the latter, sheltering in the forest from a heavy storm, sees a knight and lady riding in full sunshine, accompanied by the singing of birds. Carados follows to their castle, never able to enter the zone of sunshine, and finds on arriving that the knight is Aalardin. At the conclusion of his stay he receives from his host a shield with a boss of gold, by means of which the breast of Guimier, mutilated in the act of freeing Carados from the serpent, is restored. That Aalardin and his sister are thus not mere mortals we may take for granted, and the tradition of Perceval's connection with the lady, by whatever means it became incorporated with the *Carados* cycle (and on this point I can offer no suggestion), represents a survival of the original tradition which bestowed on him a fairy mistress.

The second piece of evidence is even more interesting. In the introductory verses of *Morien*,[2] a poem which,

[1] B. N. 1429. The grammar of line 4 is defective in 12,577.

[2] Dutch '*Lancelot*,' vol. i. l. 42,540 to end. English translation in vol. iv. of *Arthurian Romances*. Summarised by M. Gaston Paris in *Hist. Litt.*, vol. xxx. p. 247-54, where there are some interesting remarks on these introductory lines.

though now only existing in a Dutch translation, depends, there is little doubt, on a lost French original, we are told that many held the hero (the son of Agloval and a heathen princess) to be the son of Perceval; but, says the writer, as we know well that that hero died a virgin, in quest of the Grail, this cannot be. Rather must we hold the hero of the tale (who is black) to be the son of his brother Agloval. Now Agloval is comparatively a late comer in the Arthurian cycle, making his appearance first in the prose *Lancelot*, where he plays a somewhat important rôle. Considering the point then reached in the evolution of the Grail tradition, it is quite impossible that such a story, if told originally of Agloval, could have had time to be transferred to Perceval, and then re-told of the original hero. Also we have the evidence of the *Parzival* in favour of such a story being in some way connected with this latter. In the German poem it is Parzival's father, Gamuret, who has a son by his forsaken Eastern bride. That son, Feirefis, sets out, even as does Morien, in search of his Christian father, but, less fortunate than the hero of the Dutch poem, is too late to find that father living, and to re-unite him with his mother.

The fact that this story is twice told in close connection with Perceval, coupled with the very curious admission of the Dutch translator, affords reasonable ground for the presumption that this Eastern knight, who, be it noted, is always a sympathetic character, dowered with all chivalric and Christian virtues, and in the German poem eventually the father of Prester John, was at one time Perceval's son.[1]

[1] M. Ferd. Lot, in '*Celtica*' Romania, vol. xxiv. p. 336, has drawn

There are indications that there was room in the original tradition for such a development. In *Syr Percyvelle*, as we have said above, the hero, having wedded Lufamur, goes to the Holy Land, where he wins many cities and is eventually slain. Also in the *Peredur*, the chief mistress of the hero's—here rather wandering—affections, is the Empress of Cristinobyl, in itself a curious title; and when she gives him the magic stone, by means of which he overcomes the Addanc, she bids him, 'When thou seekest me seek towards India.' Such a tradition, incongruous though it may seem with our ideal of the Grail hero, is not, I think, an impossible development of the story. This much is certain, that in the first instance to the 'jongleurs,' who told and re-told his adventures, Perceval was even as other knights, he wooed and wedded, made love, and took advantage of his 'bonnes fortunes,' with as much readiness as Gawain or another; and greatly as the tale has changed in character, fragments of the older version still survive for our confusion—the old design breaks through and mars the symmetry of the new.

These, then, are the different love stories connected, explicitly or by implication, with the name of Perceval. Before summing up the conclusions to be drawn from their evidence, there are certain minor features of the legend which may fitly here be considered.

attention to a Triad recording the existence of the tomb of 'Mor, son of Peredur.'

'Bet Mor, maurhidie diessic
Unben. post kinhar kinteric
Mab' Peredur Penwedic.'

(Tombe de Mor, majestueux, inébranlable Seigneur; pilier avancé du combat, Fils de Peredur Penwedic.)

One is that of the original fate of the mother. Did she die at the moment of separation from her son, as in Chrétien, Wolfram, the 'Didot' *Perceval*, and *Peredur*, or did she live to be re-united to him, as in the *Syr Percyvelle*, *Perlesvaus*, and *Carduino*? Here the character of the original story must be considered. If the *Perceval* legend be, as in common with many scholars of standing I believe it to be, a member of the '*Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula*' group, then the rôle of the mother was originally little less important than that of the son: it was she who in the first instance was disinherited; it is for her rights, equally with his own, that the hero contends. The natural logical conclusion of the tale would be the reunion of mother and son, and the restoration of the former to her lawful estate. So, among others, the story of Perseus ends, and so end the English and the Italian versions of our tale. In the *Perlesvaus*, the hero delivers his mother from her deadly foe, the Lord of the Moors, and when finally he wins the Grail Castle, mother and sister join him there, where they live holy lives until their death.

I believe that this 'reunion' version represents the older and simpler form. When the story became more fully developed and complicated by the introduction of adventures originally foreign to it, the death of the mother would be introduced to explain, and probably at first to excuse, the son's failure to return to her. That her death should be accounted to him for sin, and become the ground for his failure to achieve the Quest, can only have come about under the influence of the Grail story in its later and more spiritualised form.

Again, it appears to me that if we accept the theory

advanced in this chapter as to the original character of the adventure of the Stag-hunt, we have before us a very simple explanation of the genesis of the *Bel-Inconnu* story in its present form. I say advisedly 'present' form, for I think we shall ultimately find reason to doubt whether the *Bel-Inconnu*, as known to us, really represents the original form of that tale. If the Stag-hunt story was a transformation story, and the hero, brought up afar from the haunts of men, won his bride by breaking the spell which enchained her, or one near and dear to her, then I think we can see how he would become the hero of the story of the *Fier Baiser*; it would be but replacing one enchantment by another, and this, the 'loathly,' form might well succeed to the earlier and fairer, as a more decisive test of the hero's courage.[1]

Moreover, the *Bel-Inconnu*, in its existing form, provides us with a hint which may be of use in clearing up one of the minor problems of the *Perceval*. In both the French and English form of the story, the tale is complicated by the introduction of a second lady, an enchantress, with whom the hero remains some considerable time, forgetful of his original quest. In the French poem this lady plays a most important rôle, and though Guinglain weds the disenchanted maiden, it is the fairy mistress who is his true love.[2] In the English poem she is not

[1] For the Stag-hunt story in the *Bel Inconnu* cycle, cf. Dr. Schofield's study, *Harvard Studies*, vol. iv. The transformed victim should, I think, be either the destined bride of the hero or her relative, she then playing the rôle of inciter to the task as in *Tyolet* and Wauchier. The *Peredur*, which introduces the 'transformation' theme, but makes the bespelled youth a relative of the hero, is, I think, a later form.

[2] *Vide* Dr. Schofield's study.

named; in the French she is 'la Dame d'Amour.' Now is it not possible, considering the undeniable parallels existing between the two cycles, that the fairy mistress of the *Perceval* now nameless, was once known by a corresponding title, and that that title has been partially preserved to us in the perplexing forms of Luf*amour*, and Kondwir*amûr*, by which, respectively in *Syr Percyvelle* and *Parzival*, the hero's wife is known?

The etymology, especially in the case of the last name, is by no means clear, nor does there appear to be any satisfactory reason why so usual and suitable a name as that of Blancheflor should be rejected in their favour. If there be any value in the suggestion here advanced, we could understand alike why such forms should appear in the story, and why they make their appearance precisely in those two versions which a previous analysis has shown to be the most faithful to the original type.

What conclusions are we to draw from the above inquiry? Surely that the story of Perceval, as we now possess it, is the result of a gradual development. Starting in a popular form, probably in one or more short Lais, one group dealing with the hero's youth and entry into the world, the other with his winning a fairy bride, the first part, which appears to have been the more popular, was worked over in literary form. The primitive traits of the *Enfances* were more or less faithfully preserved, but the fairy, at an early stage of the literary development, was replaced by a mortal maiden, and the hero's task, originally one which finds an extraordinary number of parallels in primitive Celtic legend, was changed to one more in accordance with his character as knight. With the winning of his bride, and regaining of his mother's

heritage, the genuine *Perceval* story I believe ended. Later, another element was introduced, and the story, deflected from its natural course by mystical influences foreign to the original plan, was turned into another channel, in which, however, it lost none of its earlier popularity, but rather gained a fresh hold on the favour, alike of those who told and those who hearkened to the tale.

It is clear that such a process, involving as it did a practical reconstruction of the original *données* of the tale, must have required time. Between the earliest text we possess, the poem of Chrétien, and the latest, probably that of Gerbert, there must have elapsed upwards of fifty years, yet in that time but little change takes place. We cannot be blind to the fact that already in Chrétien's work lie all the elements and all the possibilities of the *Perlesvaus* (which, if not the latest, is certainly the most definitely and consistently mystical of the versions), there is nothing fresh to be introduced, all that is needed is to develop already existing features. The greater part of the work, the transforming of folk-tale into literature, of superhuman into mere mortal, has been done; the last stage, the change from pure humanity to ascetic mysticism, is making itself felt. Our earliest *Perceval* tale comes, not at the beginning, but at the end of a long period of evolution. What were some of the elements which helped in this evolution, and how much older they are than we have hitherto suspected, we shall see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE VISIT TO THE GRAIL CASTLE

Part I—The Sword

WITH this chapter we reach one of the most interesting, and at the same time one of the most critical, points of our investigation, and set foot on ground which has been ofttimes trodden, and where it behoves us to walk warily. So much has already been written on the subject of the Grail, and its connection with Perceval, that unless I were able to bring forward evidence hitherto unknown, or inadequately considered, I should hesitate to approach the subject. As it is I do not propose here to treat of the visit to the Grail Castle as a whole, much less discuss the origin of the Grail tradition, but shall confine myself strictly to two points, the Sword, and the nature of the Grail as understood by Chrétien.

The first, the character of the Grail sword, its origin, and proper place in the tradition, is an exceedingly difficult problem, and one which the peculiarities of the hitherto only available text have largely helped to obscure.

It will be remembered that as Perceval sits beside the Fisher King, previous to the procession of the Grail, a 'valet' brings a sword which he hands to the King, telling

him his niece 'la sore pucele' sends it as a gift, he is free to do as he will with it, but the lady will be glad if it be well employed. There is an inscription on the blade, for we are told that the King draws it half-way from the scabbard:

'si voit bien ou ele fu faite,
car en l'espee estoit escrit
et avoec çou encore vit
qu'ele estoit de si bon acier
que ja ne poroit depechier
fors que en . I . tot seul peril
que nus ne le savoit fors cil
qui l'avoit forgie et tempree.'[1]

And the bearer explains:

'onques cius ki forja l'espee
n'en fist que trois et si jura
que ja mais plus n'en forgera
espee nule emprès cesti.'[2]

The King tells Perceval the sword was destined for him—

'—biaus frere, ceste espée
vous fu jugie et destinee,'[3]

and presents him with it, much to his satisfaction.

Now in the passage relating to the forging of the sword, Mons differs from all the other MSS. without exception. There are, as we shall see, variants in the text, but in one point they all agree, *i.e.* the life of the smith is in some mysterious way connected with the weapon he has forged, for where Mons has *jura*, all the texts give *mourra*:

[1] Potvin, ll. 4314-21. [2] *Ibid.*, 4332-5. [3] *Ibid.*, 4345-6.

'n'en fist que trois e si mourra
que ja mais plus n'en forgera.' [1]

Thus we have one text, and that the worst, against twelve. Berne 113, Edinburgh, and Nouv. Acq. 6614, beginning too late to be of use here. In every case the grammar of this passage is defective; the two first words '*onques* cil' are curious, and the future form of the verb 'mourra' is dependent on, and explained by, nothing in the extant texts. When and why shall he die? The forging of the sword is in the past, his death, apparently, lies in the future, for we are told later on that the sword, which shall break in a peril known only to him who forged it, can by him alone be re-soldered. Did the line originally run:

'quant ceste espée reforgera,'

or

'que ia mais plus reforgera,'

which would require a very slight alteration in the text?

[1] N. B. 12,576, fo. 13. I subjoin the readings of the MSS., B. N. 794, and 12,577:—

'onques cil qui forja l'espee
n'en fist que . III . e si morra
que iamais forgier ne porra
espee nule apres oesti'—
794, fo. 372, *vo.*

'onques cil qui forga l'espee
la ou elle sera donee
n'en fist que . III . ains i mourra
que iames forgier ne pourra
espee plus aspre que cestui.'
12,577, fo. 19.

It will be seen that this passage illustrates the relative position of the MS. groups; 794 has amplified the text of 12,576, while the '*aspre* of 12,577 implies the existence in the source of the '*aprés*' of 794.

The fact that the earliest of the extant texts, Riccardiana, gives the passage in what appears to be the secondary form,[1] points to the conclusion that the confusion in the reading must have crept in at a very early date; it was probably due to some defect in an early, if not in the original, manuscript. We shall see later that there is every reason to believe that Chrétien had this story before him in a complete and coherent form. The variant of Mons can only be ascribed to that copyist's unfortunate habit of altering, or suppressing, passages which appeared to him obscure or unnecessary, a habit of which we shall have abundant evidence.

Before entering further into the interpretation of this enigmatic episode, it will be well to follow to its end the story of the sword as told by Chrétien. Perceval, as we have seen, is rejoiced at receiving so valuable a gift. But his pleasure is short-lived, for the next morning the maiden whom he meets after leaving the Castle, and who proves to be his cousin, warns him not to rely on the sword,

'gardés ne vos i fiés ja
car ele volera en pieces'[2]—

(a statement which it may be remarked hardly agrees with the previous assertion that it will break in one peril only). Perceval, much dismayed, asks if it cannot be mended? And his cousin answers:

'Oil, mais grant paine i avroit,
Qui la voie tenir savroit
au lac qui est soz Cothoatre;
la le porriez faire rebatre

[1] *i.e.* that of 794.

[2] Potvin, ll. 4836-7.

e retemprer e faire saine,
se aventure la vus maine.
n'alez se chiez Trebucet non,
. I. fevre qui ensi a non,
car cil le fist et refera.'[1]

He is to be careful that no other sets hand to it, for none save the maker may achieve the task.

Immediately after leaving his cousin, Perceval meets the Lady of the Tent,[2] and engages in combat with her

[1] B. N. 12,576. Mons is defective here, giving l. 3 *au lac ki si poroit enbatre*. 12,576 gives the smith's name here in a shortened form, 'T'boet'; but as later it employs the ordinary spelling I have thought it better to retain it here.

[2] I would remark here that the condition of this unfortunate lady is by no means consistent with the data of Chrétien's poems: only one night elapses after Perceval leaves her before he reaches Arthur's court; he spends one night at the castle of Gornemans, and, apparently, not more than four at Biau-repaire. Thus he overthrows Aguinguerron on the morrow of his arrival, and Clamadeus immediately afterwards. The two arrive at court within a few days of each other. Perceval reaches the Grail Castle the evening of the day he leaves Biau-repaire, and only spends one night there; on the morrow he meets the Lady of the Tent again. It is thus quite impossible to spread out the events of the story as told by Chrétien over more than a fortnight at the outside; yet the lady is in such a dilapidated condition that, would she close one rent in her robe, a hundred open, while her steed is in almost a worse state! Probably, as I suggested above, the 'Lady of the Tent' is an independent story of the *Griselidis* family, introduced from outside without any attempt at harmonising the two tales. The initial incident of Perceval kissing a sleeping maiden, and stealing her ring, may well have been in an early form of the legend, while the use made of it was elaborated under the influence of a foreign story group. Wolfram, it will be remembered, avoids the difficulty by making Parzival remain two weeks with Gurnemanz, and an indefinite period with Kondwiramûr: there is thus no glaring contradiction in his poem, such as we find here.

'ami,' l'Orgillos de la Lande. Here in three MSS., B. N. 12,576, Mons, and Heralds' College, the unreliable character of the weapon is demonstrated, for it breaks in the midst of the combat. What follows is most curious and significant. In 12,576 the incident is very briefly related, occupying only some twenty lines; Perceval replaces the pieces in his scabbard, and continues the fight with the sword originally belonging to the Red Knight.[1] In the other two MSS. it is very different; he throws the fragments on the ground instead of restoring them to the sheath. Meanwhile the Fisher King bethinks him of the sword. He knows well that it will break at the first opportunity, and calling to him a 'Garçon,' bids him follow the knight who has just left the Castle, and should he be about to fight, to remain close at hand, waiting for the moment when the sword he has taken from the court shall break, and bring back the pieces as swiftly as may be. This the messenger does, and finds the pieces lying on the ground behind Perceval. He takes them up and carries them off without either of the combatants being aware of his presence. On reaching the court he hands the pieces to the King, who is rejoiced at again becoming possessed of them, and gives them in charge to a 'serjant':

> 'lués à . I . serjant les commande
> moult bien garder'[2]—

He inquires how the combat was going? The messenger says, 'twas a fierce fight, but he cannot say the which

[1] The passage is given by M. Potvin; the original will be found on fo. 16 of 12,576.

[2] Potvin, ll. 5279-80.

of the two would have the better of it, as he was in haste to fulfil his lord's commands : they say no more—

'cis se part de devant le roi
quant il rien plus ne li demande.'[1]

The tale then returns to Perceval. This episode here occupies upwards of 200 lines, *i.e.* 127 from the point where the Fisher King intervenes, 195 from the breaking of the sword.

When I read Mons it at once occurred to me that the 'raison d'être' of this interpolation, for an interpolation it certainly is, was simply to account for the King's possession of a broken sword at Perceval's next visit to the court; this was the sword he was to re-forge, and I made a note to this effect. To my gratification I found the full proof of the correctness of this surmise in the third MS., that of Heralds' College. Here the sword breaks as in Mons, here also, the King sends for the pieces; but when he receives them, instead of committing them to the care of a serjant, he himself lays them solemnly upon the bier (which had not previously been mentioned), and in a long speech explains to his folk that he alone who can re-solder the sword shall achieve the quest of the Grail, and heal him (the King) of his sickness. The entire episode occupies over 400 lines, and though agreeing in incident with Mons, is quite differently worded.[2]

[1] Potvin, 5294-5.

[2] I quote the lines in which the King makes the above statement. It will be seen that they agree with the first visit of Gawain to the Castle, not with the second, which is common to all the MSS. :

'ffeist saveir pout e aprendre
de la lance que tuz jors seigne
sanz ceo que char n'i ad ne veigne,

In the majority of the MSS. there is no special record of the breaking of the sword, but the 'Manessier' section tells how while Perceval is on his way to defend Blancheflor from the assault of Arides of Cavalon, his horse casts a shoe, the maiden who is acting as his guide tells him there is a smith near at hand, and leads him to the forge. The smith, Triboet by name, sees that Perceval carries two swords, the one broken, and tells him 'twas he who forged that sword, and he can mend it, which he does. There is no mention of any special peril in which it broke nor of any difficulty in the re-forging, nor is the place named Cothoatre.

What are we to make of this? I think that the episode of the sword, not clear in Chrétien, was a hopeless puzzle to those copyists who had no knowledge, direct or indirect, of his source.[1] They did not know the right *dénouement* of the tale, and were at a loss what to make of it. Eventually the fact that the breaking

e de Graal qui vient après
e purquei plure tut ades
la puciele qui le sustient
de la biere qu' apres vient
sav(e)ra la verite adonques
ceo que nuls ne pot saveir onques
pur nule rien qui avenist
tut maintenant les piéces mist
li rois ambesdeus (de)sus la biere
que mult est riche de grant maniere.'

I have retained the original spelling, which is somewhat peculiar. Throughout, at the commencement of a line the double *ff.* is employed. The passage relative to the sword begins on fo. 180 *vo.*

[1] I think we must be careful to differentiate between *copyist* and *continuator.* Certain sections of the *Perceval*, as we possess it, were certainly drawn from sources very generally known; other sources appear to have been accessible to a smaller public.

of the sword had already made its way into the story, through the medium of an influence we shall presently discuss, suggested to one of them the ingenious solution of identifying it with the broken sword of the earlier *Gawain-Grail* story, which had already affected the *Perceval* versions. In pursuance of this idea the pieces were brought back to the Fisher King, and the hearers were free to imagine that the sword which, on his second visit, Perceval is bidden to re-solder was none other than that which he had received intact at the first. The copyist of Mons was cleverer than the copyist of Heralds' College, for he contents himself with simply bringing back the pieces to the court, without stating what is done with them. The second goes just a little too far; he makes the King deposit the pieces on the bier, which has no place in the *Perceval* story. Never, in any version of Perceval's visit to the Grail Castle, does the Dead Knight on the bier figure; it is exclusively a feature of the *Gawain-Grail* versions. But the version of this MS. is in the highest degree valuable, as it shows clearly that the copyists were aware of the discrepancies between Chrétien and his continuators, and anxious, if possible, to harmonise them.

Have we then no idea of how the sword story, as told by Chrétien, was originally intended to end? The interpolation of Gerbert supplies, I think, the answer, and that excellently. This is the story as he tells it.

The section due to Gerbert begins in the midst of Perceval's second visit to the Grail Castle. We hear how, in the middle of the night, he is awakened by the sound of a bell,[1] and a mysterious voice tells him that his sister

[1] Here we may note a parallel with the German *Lohengrin*. The Grail community, in their mysterious home in the mountain, are

is in peril, and he is to go to her aid. He sleeps again, and wakes in the morning to find the castle vanished, and himself, with steed and armour, in a flowery meadow, the fairest in the world. He rides on, and comes to a castle, with walls of red and white marble; within he hears sounds of singing and music, pipe, harp, and organ, so sweet that he forgets all ills he has suffered since childhood. He would fain enter and learn what so rejoices the folk within; but call and knock as he may none come to the gate. At last in an access of impatience he strikes so hard on the door with his sword that the weapon breaks in two. An old man then appears who rebukes him for his impetuosity. He has wandered long in search of the Grail, now the broken sword will add seven and a half years to his quest. He may know that he stands at the gate of Paradise, which cannot be won by force or earthly prowess. Having given Perceval a letter which has the virtue of restoring any madman to his senses, the old man closes the door. Perceval rides off, but looking back finds the fair castle has vanished, and not a trace of it is to be seen. As he passes through the land all the folk bless him, for 'tis through his question as to the meaning of the Lance that it has again become fertile.

warned of the peril of the Lady of Brabant by the loud and persistent ringing of a bell, which gives them no rest till Parzival's daughter, on behalf of the community, inquires the will of the Grail. It is curious that Gerbert should contain this second parallel with the Swan Knight tale. The point of the warning here is never clear, Perceval, when he reaches his home, finds his sister dwelling in peace, and although when they leave together she is challenged from him by Mordret, whom he overthrows in consequence, the incident is so common that it does not appear to require celestial intervention. I am inclined to think that Gerbert has omitted the real conclusion of this adventure.

Finally he reaches a castle, where the lady, Escolasse, receives him with great honour. While waiting for meat, as the two sit in an embrasure of the window, Perceval sees a blue smoke rising near at hand and asks what it may be. The lady tells him 'tis from a forge, served by

'—.I. fevre de grant eage.
.I. rois li dona cel menage
pour trois espees qu'il forga.
en cel chastel une forge a
la ou les forga toutes trois.
de l'une fu il si destrois
c'onques en .I. an ne fina
de forgier tant qu'il la fina
trenchant e dure e moult bien faite,
e dist que ja ne seroit fraite
fors par un peril qu'il savoit
ke nus fors qu'il ne savoit;
par cel peril seroit brisie
l'espee qui tant est prisie
ne ja refaite ne seroit
devant que il le referoit.'[1]

The fire had not been extinguished since, nor would he forge anything save one gave him a forge-full of gold. He knows well that when the sword is brought to him to be re-forged,

'—moult petit apres vivra,'

therefore he has the entrance to the forge guarded by two serpents (dragons),[2] and none save his household can come and go freely. Perceval asks the name of the castle, and the lake beneath it, and is told that both are named

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 154 *vo.*

[2] They are called serpents; but as we read of their feet and crests the poet certainly conceived of them as dragons.

Cothoatre; it was the 'manoir' of King Frolac. The hero makes no further remark, but the next morning, having donned his harness, and armed himself with an axe which he finds hanging in the hall, he announces his intention of visiting the forge. The lady does her best to dissuade him, but in vain; and followed by a great concourse of people Perceval rides to the entrance of the smithy.

After a fierce fight with the dragons he slays both, and makes his way to the presence of the smith, who knows only too well what he seeks. He tells him at once that the sword, originally forged by himself, was broken at the gate of Paradise,[1] and that he alone can re-forge it. Perceval has passed many summers and many winters in quest of the Grail, and shall pass many more, but he (the smith) has but little longer to live.

Having re-forged the sword he gives it back, telling him it will be equal to any demand a valiant knight may make upon it. Perceval then departs, refusing the entreaties of his hostess that he will remain longer. He has ridden but a short distance when he hears all the bells of the city toll:

> 'car Trebuches fenis estoit
> qui l'espee refaite avoit.'[2]

Now this is an admirable story, clear, coherent, well told, and marked by features of distinct poetical excellence. Did Gerbert compose it? I think not; no poet who could invent so admirable a poem, and one, which, as

[1] Heinzel is wrong in saying, as he does on p. 16 of his study, that Gerbert says nothing of the smith's knowledge of how, and when, the sword was broken. Probably he only knew Gerbert through Potvin's very incomplete summary.

[2] B. N. 12,576, fo. 156.

we shall see, is so thoroughly consistent with the indications given by Chrétien, would have landed himself in such contradictions as we found to be the case when dealing with the marriage story.

It will be noted that Gerbert's account agrees in every particular with the statements of the squire who brings the sword to the King. The name of the smith is the same. He has forged three swords, one of which, the one given to Perceval, will break in a certain peril, known only to him who forged it; it does break, and that under circumstances that could not have been foreseen, but which the smith himself anticipates. Nowhere else do we read of a knight reaching, and trying to force his way into Paradise but Trebuchet knew what had happened. The smith's life is in some unexplained manner connected with the sword; he dies after having re-forged it. The name of the lake also corresponds. Chrétien does not mention the name of the king.

All this is curious enough, but there is another point of contact still more curious. When Perceval sets foot on the bridge guarded by the dragons, we are told,

> 'une oroison ce m'est avis
> a dit que il avoit apris.'[1]

Now in the Good Friday episode, before leaving the hermit the latter teaches him a prayer:

> 'e li hermites li conseille
> une oroison dedens l'oreille,
> si li ferma tant qu'il le sot;
> e en cele oroison si ot

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 155 *vo.*

assez des nons Notre Seigneur,
car il i furent li greigneur
que nomer ne doit bouche d'ome
se par paor de mort nes nome.
quant l'oroison li ot aprise,
deffendi lui qu'en nule guise
ne les nomast sans grant peril.
"non ferai iou, sire," fait il.'[1]

Nowhere in the whole of the *Perceval* do we find any reference to, or explanation of, this mysterious prayer, unless it be in this passage of Gerbert, and I would suggest that this is precisely the adventure in which the aid of such a spell or charm would be in place. Perceval is contending, not with two normal, and mortal, foes, but with fearsome monsters, and, moreover, is deprived of his customary knightly weapon, the sword, and has to make what play he can with an axe. The prayer, or charm, whichever it be, would decidedly be in place here, and here, accordingly, we find it. It seems to me that a careful consideration of all the details can lead to one conclusion only, that Gerbert was here dealing with the source of Chrétien's sword story, and that source was an elaborate and well-thought-out poem.

Nor is there any improbability in this suggestion. If we admit the identity of the Gerbert of the *Perceval* with

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 26. Potvin, 7855-65. The *Clermont-Ferrand* text has a curious variant, l. 6, reads:

'e se i furent li pluisor
en Greois e en Latin
que cil avoit en son escrin.
fo. 105 *vo.*

Cf. also *Flamenca*, where the hero recites a prayer taught him by a hermit, in which are the seventy-two names of God, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and which is of great virtue.

Gerbert de Montreuil, and that the two were one and the same, I have, myself, no doubt[1] we are dealing with a writer whose familiarity with the romantic literature of his day was exceptionally wide and varied. The *Roman de la Violette* is not a very long poem, but in it we find references to *Yvain*, *Cligés*, *Tristan*, *Salomon et Markolf*, *La bone Florence de Rome*, *Carados*, *Aliscans* (a whole 'laisse' is quoted), *Guillaume Fierebrace*; to Roland and Aude; numerous classical characters, such as Acis and Galatea, Polixena, Helen, and Dido. The *Miracles of Our Lady* are referred to, the restoration of the hands of Onestasse being given, and a passage from the Grail story, Joseph of Arimathea's petition to Pilate, being quoted. Besides these there are many lyrical passages, and references to personages I cannot identify. Gerbert must have known pretty well all the popular stories of his day, and were either Kyot's poem, or the common source of Chrétien and Kyot, then extant, there is a strong *prima facie* probability that he would know something of it.

In the preceding chapter I touched on this question; and with regard to the relations between Perceval and Blancheflor we saw that it was not easy to determine whether the version Gerbert was following was Kyot's poem or the book of Count Philip. Here the probabilities are in favour of the latter view; the sword story in Wolfram is not that of Chrétien, but differs from it in important particulars. It is not sent by the niece of the Fisher King, or another maiden, but is the weapon

[1] When the *Luite Tristran* is finally ready for publication, I hope to be able to show that lines and incidents of that poem are repeated in the *Roman de la Violette*.

previously borne by the King himself. When he gives it to Parzival, it is without any reference to the circumstances of its forging, or the possibility of its breaking. When the hero meets his cousin, Sigune, however, she gives him a long account of the weapon. There is a spell connected with it, and only he who knows that spell can wield it aright. It was forged by Trebuchet, and will withstand the first blow, but break asunder at the second. Should this happen, he must take it to the spring Lac, by Karnant—from that spring King Lac took his name—and plunge the blade in the water, before the day dawns. Yet, an he know not the spell, it is useless to wield the sword. At the beginning of Book IX. we are told incidentally that the sword has been broken, but mended again in the spring at Karnant.[1]

Now this account at first sight reads like a confused version of Chrétien and Gerbert. The name of the smith is the same, and there is a suggestive similarity between the names of Frolac and Lac, ascribed to the King, but the breaking of the sword at the second blow would seem to make it an even more useless gift than in Chrétien. But I fancy that this is only in appearance, and that the sword here is an entirely different weapon from that of the French poem. We find in the Mabinogi[2] of *Pwyll Prince of Dyved*, a parallel which seems to throw some light on the subject. Pwyll changes shapes with Arawn, King of Annwvyn, in order that he may overcome for him a persistent foe, Havgan. But Arawn warns Pwyll that he is not to strike more than one blow; if he do, he

[1] *Parzival*, Book v. ll. 895-916. For the gift of the sword, cf. ll. 469-82. Is the spell Chrétien's 'oroison'?

[2] Cf. *Mabinogion*, ed. Nutt, p. 5.

will find his foe whole on the morrow. We are led to suppose that it is for this reason that Arawn himself cannot achieve the task. He says that he has smitten twice. Now I suspect that Wolfram's sword is really a sunweapon, it will accomplish all required of it at one blow, a second will undo the work. The fact that, if broken, it can be mended by plunging it in the water of a spring seems to point to the same conclusion: no ordinary weapon could be welded by such means. I fancy that we have here a confused remembrance of some fantastic play on the effect produced by refraction on a beam of light, or any other straight object entering the water, or a simple allusion to the sun's apparent rising anew from the water. It is somewhat significant that the act must be performed before dawn. But I think it clear that, though there are indications of a common source, explained by Gerbert's story (which gives the King's name, missing in Chrétien), as the poems now stand the two swords are not the same.

What is the explanation of this puzzle, for a puzzle it certainly is? The question appears to me so beset with difficulty that I can only offer, with all reservation, what appears to me to be a possible solution, without professing to feel any certainty as to its correctness. That version of the Grail story which I take to be the earliest, *i.e.* that connected with the name of Bleheris, and of which Gawain is the hero, possessed a broken sword, on his capacity for re-forging which the hero's achievement of the Quest depends. Where the sword originally came from I do not pretend to say; we have not yet discovered the source of the story. This much, however, is certain: Gawain is persistently associated with a sword of magic properties,

whether the sword 'as estranges renges' or another. That there should be a sword in that version of the Grail story of which he is hero is only natural.[1]

The later version of the story, the Christian, had originally no sword, there was no room for it in the Christian tradition; Lance and Grail were the relics of the Passion,[2] and it is specially of the Christian version of the legend that Perceval is the hero. In the source common to Chrétien and Wolfram a sword having a different origin was introduced into the story, and the primitive '*donnée*' of the broken weapon remodelled. The earlier Grail tradition had, however, taken too firm a hold on popular fancy to be dislodged, and the new weapon was speedily dropped out of the tale to be replaced by the old, while Perceval was subjected to the same test of fitness as Gawain.

This seems to me the only explanation which fits the circumstances as they now stand.

But whence did the sword story, as told by Chrétien, come originally? Shall we go far astray if we suggest that it is based on a reminiscence of Wieland, and the three swords of his famous forging contest? The name

[1] Cf. also the Dutch *Walewein*, and the *Chevalier á l'Epée*. In group C of the *Perceval* texts the sword with which Gawain is armed for his fight with Guiromelans possesses magic properties, and it seems very doubtful whether Gawain, rather than Arthur, is not the rightful owner of Excalibur. It is worth noting that although Perceval, in the 'Gerbert' section, achieves the adventure of Mont Esclaire, and frees the lady, he does not win the sword, whereas Gawain, in B. N. 12,577, and the Edinburgh text, does so. In the *Perlesvaus* Gawain wins the sword with which S. John the Baptist was beheaded.

[2] The sword of S. Peter might indeed have been introduced into the story, but this identification never seems to have been attempted.

of the king, Frolac, is certainly northern in form; the name of the smith may suggest a punning reference to Wieland's lameness.[1] No personality of northern legend appears, judging from our insular experience, to have taken so firm a hold, outside the limits of his own land, on popular fancy as Wieland, 'Wayland Smith.' His story was certainly known in France in the eleventh century,[2] and there is no initial improbability in stories based upon the incidents of his legend finding their way into popular romance.

Sir Frederick Madden, in the notes to his *Syr Gawayne*, quotes a curious inscription, said to have been engraved

[1] *Trebucier* in the exact meaning of the word appears to signify *to stumble* rather than *to fall*. In the *Perceval*, however, it is used in the latter sense.

'á l'approchier l'a si hurté
que par le crupe del destrier
l'a fait á terre trebuchier.'

Nouv. Acq. 6614, fo. 91 *vo.*

'k'á la terre fist trebuchier
le chevalier et son destrier
tout estendu e tot pasmé.'

Ibid., fo. 111.

It will be remembered that the king, desirous of retaining Wieland in his service, caused him to be hamstrung in order to prevent his escape. This is only thrown out as a suggestion, but the name is a curious one.

[2] Cf. *Chronique d'Adémar de Chabannes* (B. N. 5296, fonds Latin). It is there stated that the sword of Guillaume I., 'Taillefer,' comte d'Angoulême, was forged by Waland. Guillaume reigned from 916-962; Adémar died in 1034; thus, if in the original text of the Chronicle (as M. Ferd. Lot believes), the story must belong to the first half of the eleventh century; and if Adémar were repeating a popular tradition it may well date from the tenth. The story of Guillaume's conflict with, and victory over, a chief of the Northmen was well known.

upon the blade of that hero's sword, the wording of which recalls Escolasse's statement as to the forging of the third sword:[1]

'Je sui fort tranchant e dure
Galaan me fist par mult grant cure
quatorse ans Jhesu Christ
quant Galaan me trempa e fist.'

The MS. from which the lines were quoted, the title of which was not given, was, according to the writer, of the reign of Edward I. (1272-1307). This would seem to prove that by the end of the thirteenth, or at latest by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Wieland legend had certainly come in contact with the Arthurian cycle, at what period it first did so we have as yet no data for determining.[2]

Taken as a whole, the sword episodes of the Arthurian story show remarkable parallels with Northern literature; the sword in the 'perron,' the test of Arthur's right to the throne, recalls the Branstock; the re-soldering of the Grail sword, the Siegfried story. But Wolfram's sword is, as we have seen, different. It looks more as if it were of

[1] Cf. p. 142.

[2] Cf. Notes to *Golagros and Gawayne*, p. 343, from which I copied it. The lines are preceded by a description, in Latin, of the measurements of the weapon, and followed by four more lines which have no connection with the first. The inscription, as given by Sir Frederick Madden, seems to have escaped notice, but it has been recently published, in practically identical form, by Mr. R. H. Fletcher (*Modern Language Association of America*, XVIII.), from the text of the '*Polistorie*.' In a note on the subject in *Romania*, January 1905, M. Paul Meyer has pointed out that the four concluding lines are of a popular, proverbial character, and occur independently in three other texts. The '*quatorse* ans' of l. 3 should probably be '*quatre cent*.'

Celtic origin, and the introduction here must, I think, be ascribed to Kyot. It seems possible that the simultaneous existence of two versions of the story may account for the first appearance of the sword-breaking episode in the fight with l'Orgillos; Wolfram's version would account for this much better than Chrétien's. As it is, B. N. 12,576 makes the sword break twice, and each time under circumstances that would agree with the indications of the differing poets. It is the only defect I have noted in this otherwise excellent text, and it is a very curious one.

We have by no means as yet resolved the cycle into its constituent elements, and those elements are far from simple. The above remarks on a very complicated section of the Grail story may help to throw light upon the problem. I can in no way claim to have solved it.

Part II.—The Grail.

One of the questions which have long perplexed the student of the Arthurian cycle is, in what light did Chrétien regard the Grail? Was it for him a 'Holy Thing,' in the sense that it was closely and intimately bound up with the life and death of the Founder of the Christian Faith, or was it only 'holy' in the sense that it was a mysterious talisman, the exact meaning of which the poet did not apprehend, but which he clearly understood was only to be approached with awe and reverence? What he says on the point is obscure.

He tells how, as Perceval sat in the hall of the Fisher King, there entered first a squire, bearing a Lance, from the point of which hung a single drop of blood, then two

more with golden candelabra, each having at least ten lighted candles:

'un graal entre ses II. mains
une damoisiele tenoit,
qui avoec les varlés venoit,
biéle gente et acesmee.
quant ele fu laiens entree
atout le graal qu'ele tint,
une si grans clartés i vint
que si perdirent les candoiles
lor clarté com font les estoiles
quant li solaus lieve ou la lune.'[1]

Later on,

'de fin or esméree estoit.
piéres pressieuses avoit
el graal de maintes manieres,
des plus rices et des plus cieres
qui el mont ou en tiere soient.
totes autres pieres passoient
celes du greal sans dotance.'[2]

We are told that it passes before Perceval at every course of the meal, 'trestot descovert,' but he does not ask 'qui on en sert.' The meal of which he, in common with the other knights, partakes is in no way provided by, or dependent on, the Grail. Later on he learns from his hermit uncle that it is the Fisher King's father who is served by the Grail:

'd'une sole oiste li sains hom,
quant en ce Greal li aporte,
sa vie sostient et conforte,
tant sainte cose est li Graaus;
et cil est si esperitaus

[1] Potvin, ll. 4398-4407.

[2] *Ibid.*, 4411-17.

k'a sa vie plus ne covient
que l'oiste qui el Greal vient.'[1]

We gather from the above that the Grail was wrought of fine gold, and adorned with precious stones; that it shed forth so brilliant a light that all the candles in its neighbourhood were extinguished by it; further that it was the receptacle for a 'Host' or wafer, by means of which the King's father sustained his life. This may mean either that Chrétien conceived of it as a monstrance, or as a chalice from which the King's father was communicated by intincture,[2] as is the custom in the Greek Church to this day. But there can, I think, be no doubt that Chrétien regarded the Grail decidedly as a Christian relic.

It is therefore not a little puzzling when we come to the kindred poem of *Parzival* to find that though the surroundings are similar the Grail itself is a stone, brought to earth by angels, and endowed with mysterious attributes unknown to Chrétien. Thus it prolongs indefinitely the youth of all who serve it; none can die within eight days of having beheld it; it is served by a community of knights and maidens, the former pledged to celibacy, who are chosen by the Grail itself, their names appearing on its surface. Similarly though the Grail King may wed, his bride must be the choice of the Grail. The only point which definitely connects this Grail with the Passion of

[1] Potvin, 7796-7802.

[2] Heinzel, p. 8, says that Chrétien cannot have conceived of the Grail as containing the Holy Blood, since he speaks of the Host being conveyed in it to the Fisher King's father. The two are, however, not incompatible, as I have shown above. In *Dîu Crône* the old King partakes alike of the Host in the Grail, and the drops of Blood from the Lance.

Christ is that its virtue is renewed every Good Friday by the action of a dove, which descends from heaven, and lays a Host upon the stone. The history of the Grail is said to have been written in the stars, and originally found in Toledo.

Now what are we to make of this discrepancy? Up to this point Chrétien and Wolfram have, with the exception of the two introductory books peculiar to the latter, agreed closely in sequence of incident, though the German poet is throughout richer in detail; even in the case of the sword, which we have just considered, though the two versions now differ widely, yet there are still to be discerned traces of a common original. But this is very different, here is not mere discrepancy but flat contradiction. Can the poems possibly here derive from the same source, or was the Grail story still in an inchoate form, and did each interpret an obscure tradition as he understood it?

I believe we have now evidence to prove that the former was the case; that the French and German poems are here, as elsewhere, dependent on the same original source; and that, long before Chrétien wrote, the Grail story had developed into a complete and coherent Christian-Ecclesiastical tradition.

A certain number of the *Perceval* MSS. (B.N. 12,576, 1429, Nouv. Acq. 6614, B. M. Add. 36,614, and Edinburgh), in recounting the adventure of Mont Dolorous, assert that they tell the tale

> 'si com le conte nus affiche
> qui a Fescans est toz escris.'[1]

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 148 *vo.* Edinburgh really gives Trescamp, a

The reference, it will be seen, is not confined to the members of any one MS. group, but is found in all. 12,576 and Nouv. Acq. belonging to group A, Add. 36,614 to B, and 1429 and Edinburgh to C. Thus we may, I think, take it as practically certain that the lines were in the original source.

What was this book which was written at Fescamp, and in which the story of Perceval (the Mont Dolorous adventure is achieved by him) was to be found? There can be little doubt that it was a fully developed Christian-Grail romance.

It has long been well known to scholars that Fescamp was the home of a famous 'Saint-Sang' tradition, preserved in a fairly large number of Latin and French MSS., and finally developed into a French poem. But hitherto, partly no doubt from the fact that the Fescamp MSS. do not all give the same details, but, I suspect, principally from the omission of Mons, which concealed the fact that our oldest Grail romance referred to Fescamp as a source, the extreme importance of the story as a factor in the evolution of the Grail legend has hitherto remained unrecognised. This is the Fescamp legend:[1]—

manifest slip in the spelling. B. N. 12,577, *qui a ses coup est touz escris*. B. N. 1453 and Montpellier replace the proper name respectively by '*est el livre*,' and '*en l'ueuvre*.' Mons, unhappy as usual, has '*qui assés sera tost escris*.'

[1] I took down the story in the first instance from MS. 1555 (fonds français) of the Bibl. Nat., to which I was guided by a reference of the Abbé de la Rue, *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes*; but it is printed in full in Leroux de Lincey's *Essai sur l'Abbaye de Fescamp* (Rouen, 1840), from which the summary in the text is drawn. I am indebted to M. Paul Meyer for my knowledge of this book, which has proved a veritable mine of information on the subject.

After the Crucifixion, when Joseph and Nicodemus took Body of Our Lord down from the Cross, they carefully moved from the wounds the dried and clotted blood, of ch Nicodemus concealed a portion in his glove. At death[1] he left this, a precious legacy, to his nephew heir Isaac, bidding him guard it carefully; he will er be poor so long as he cherishes it. Isaac accordly kept the relic carefully, adored it, and paid it great nour. As a consequence, his wife, who knew nothing the secret, accused him to the Jews of idolatry. Nothing ld be proved against him, however, but he thought it st to leave Jerusalem, and depart for Sidon. There he s warned by a vision of the approaching destruction of rusalem by Titus and Vespasian. For the greater safety the precious relic he determined to conceal it in the unk of a fig-tree, the poem says:

'o le sanc un feret estoit
ne sai pas bien queil fer c'estoit
se ch'eit de lanche ou quelque chose.'

(We shall see presently what this second relic really was.) Both were enclosed in leaden tubes, and placed in holes bored in the trunk, which closed up miraculously, leaving no sign. For some time Isaac adored his relics in peace, but eventually he was warned by God that, the land being no longer worthy to contain such a treasure, he must cut down the fig-tree, and commit the trunk to the sea. This he did, deeply grieving, and the tree was carried by the

[1] It will be remarked that this legend knows nothing of the banishment of Nicodemus, which, had it been a mere imitation of the Grail story, would probably have been the case.

waves to France, and washed ashore at the place known as Fescamp:

'Fescamp pour le figuier nommée.'

To the valley of Fescamp came S. Denis, S. Taurin, a saintly man named Bose, intent on converting the hea folk of the land. Bose married a good woman na Marque, and settled in the valley. His children, w feeding their cattle, one day came across the trunk of fig-tree, which had sent forth three fair saplings. T brought one to their father, who planted it, and su quently the other two, in his garden, where they grew i trees; but the parent trunk could not be removed, what they would. After the death of Bose, an angel, in t guise of a pilgrim, appeared, and transported the trunk the spot where the Abbey church now stands.

One day it chanced that the Duke Anségis was hunti in the valley, and started a stag white as snow.[1] Chas by the hounds, the stag took refuge by the trunk of t fig-tree, where it stood still, horses and hounds refusing approach it. Anségis, much impressed, swore to erect chapel on that spot, which he did, of wood, placing the altar on the spot where the stag had stood, and vowing to Heaven that, were his life prolonged, he would build there a permanent church, in honour of the Blessed Trinity. He died, however, shortly after, and the chapel and altar alike fell into ruins.

In the days of King Lothaire, S. Wagnen came thither, but knowing nothing of the story, and seeing in Fescamp only a fertile valley, thought it suitable for a grazing-

[1] We have here again a white stag acting as a messenger from the Other-world, and revealing a mysterious secret.

d. He fell ill, almost to death, and in a trance the story of the relic was revealed to him, and by the ession of S. Eulalia, his life was prolonged twenty in order that he might found the sanctuary anew. he did, founding an abbey and community of nuns. ng the invasions of the Northmen the abbey was oyed and the nuns martyred; but after their con- on to Christianity under Rollo, his son William mined to restore the church. It was rebuilt, and a nn dedication festival held. During the service an l in the guise of a pilgrim appeared:

'dessus l'autel mist un coutel
onques coutel ne vit hon tel
que Dieu le fist non pas nature
au manche avoit ceste escripture
"In honore Sancte et individue Trinitatis."'

e then ascended into heaven, leaving the impression of foot on the stone. From that day onward, under the tering care of the Dukes of Normandy, the abbey reased in wealth and prosperity. The poet concludes e legend with these words:

'je ay rudement dicte l'ystoire
mes fermement la devon croire
que saintes gens l'ont approuvée
et miracles l'ont confermée
devant le sanc donc merchi crie
tu qui ceu lis, et pour moy prie.'

In the foregoing account there is one omission: the writer did not know what was the second relic enclosed in the fig-tree. From the Latin versions we learn that the blood which had dried on the wounds of Our Lord was removed by means of a knife: 'In ipsa tamen depositione

Nichodemus ille qui, teste Evangelio, venerat ad J
nocte, non minima accensus dilectione, sanguine
prophete Jhesu circa vulnera pedum et manuum et
refrigeratum suo abrasit cultello et in sua reposui
teca.'[1] It was this knife which was concealed i
second tube placed in the fig-tree. The *raison d'*
the second knife, that brought by the angel, is no
clear. I am inclined to think it may have arisen fro
details concerning the preservation of the first h
dropped out of the story, while the writer was well
of the fact that it existed side by side with the Saint
at Fescamp.

Now to what date should this tradition be assign
If we set on one side as legendary the miraculous in
duction to the story recounting the various foundation
the present Abbey, there is solid historical evidence
the tradition of its foundation in its present form un
Richard I. of Normandy, in June 990. The earliest ext
testimony to the miraculous stories connected with
earlier foundations appears to be in a treatise on the s
ject, written by a monk of Fescamp, and dedicated
Guillaume de Ros, third abbot, who died in 1107. Bald
Bishop of Dôle, who visited the abbey several ti
during the rule of the fourth abbot, Roger (1107-39), re
to the relic of the Saint Sang, which was clearly well kno

[1] British Museum, *Harleian*, 1801. I am again indebted for thi
reference to the kindness of M. Paul Meyer, who supplied the missing
link from his copy of the above MS., informing me at the same time
that Caius College, Cambridge, possesses a similar text. The passage
as to the knife placed on the altar by the angel agrees, with the
omission of the statement that God had made it. The details of the
incident, the inscription on the handle, and subsequent disappearance
of the angel are all in accord.

in his day. We have thus evidence for the story as far back as probably the end of the eleventh, certainly the beginning of the twelfth, century.

Shortly after the dedication of the church by Duke Richard, the original relic appears to have been duplicated by the agency of a miracle which took place in the neighbourhood: a priest,[1] in the act of celebrating Mass at the altar of S. Maclou, found to his astonishment that the elements, after consecration, had become changed into veritable Flesh and Blood. The chalice and paten, subjects of this miracle, were conveyed to Fescamp, and preserved under the high altar with the knife brought by the angel. Henri de Sully, fifth abbot of Fescamp, nephew to our King Stephen, in 1171 ordered the holy relics, hitherto concealed, to be displayed on the high altar.[2]

Now is it not obvious that we have here, in all respects save the name, a complete Grail legend, and that going back to a very much earlier date than any of our extant Grail romances?

Further, that this Fescamp legend has affected our Grail

[1] The priest is said to have been named Isaac, which looks like a confusion with the original story.

[2] It will be well here to quote the account given by Leroux de Lincey of the miracles attendant on these relics: 'Ainsi, plusieurs fois pendant la nuit, tandis que l'église était fermée, des brillantes lumières vinrent l'éclairer tout à coup; une musique céleste se fit entendre, et l'on distingua la voix des anges qui chantaient des hymnes à la gloire du Très-Haut. Souvent le réliquaire qui contenait le Précieux Sang s'agita de lui-même, et le crucifix qui est audessus du grand autel descendit par trois fois sur la Sainte Table, et revint occuper sa place' (p. 92). If we recall the details of the Grail manifestations as described in the *Prose Lancelot*, the sweet singing, as of angels, the perfume of incense, etc., the parallel becomes striking.

stories seems certain. Is it not clear that we have here, at last, a reasonable and coherent explanation of the presence of knives in the Grail procession, a detail peculiar to Wolfram von Eschenbach? Hitherto it has been supposed that this feature was due to a misunderstanding of Chrétien's 'tailleor,' a solution quite unsatisfactory to those who accept the German poet's assertion that he was not following Chrétien. Also, why should the one 'tailleor' have become two knives? But the Fescamp story explains alike the presence of the knife and its duplication. Again, the use to which Wolfram puts them, that of scraping from the lance the poison which, drawn from the wounds of Anfortas, hangs to the blade like ice, is very suggestive of their original source. Professor Heinzel, in his study of the Grail romances, saw this parallel, and refers to it in a footnote; but the fact that, apparently, he only knew the legend at second hand, and was not acquainted with the incident of the knife brought by the angel, while the only available *Perceval* text did not contain the reference to Fescamp, hindered him from detecting the real bearing of the evidence.[1]

The majority of the MSS. interpolate in the *Bleheris* version of the *Gawain-Grail* visit an account of the Grail which has some points of decided affinity with our story, and which will be worth quoting here:[2]

[1] Cf. *Ueber die Französischen Gral-Romanen*, p. 40.

[2] I have collated this passage from B. N. 12,577, and B. N. 794, giving the text of the first, which, on the whole, is the most correct. I note below the variants of 794:—

l. 1 is absent.

l. 13, 'soz ses piés le mist maintenant.'

l. 27, del Sanc precieus.'

l. 33, 'la voire crois.'

'voirs est que Joseph le fist fere,
cil Joseph de Barimacie
qui tant ama toute sa vie
Nostre Seingneur com il parut,
car, a cel jour qu'il mort reçut
en crois pour pecheurs sauver,
Joseph qui tant fait a loer
a tout le Greal c'ot fet fere
vint errant a mont el Calvaire
la ou Deu fut cruçefiez;
en son cuer en fu moult irez,
mes n'en osa mostrer semblant;
desus ses piez moult gentement
que du sanc estoient moilliez
que decouroit de chascun piez
quanqu'il onques en pot avoir
entrecueilli a son pooir
dedens cel Graal de fin or,
moult i a precieus trésor
e moult par fist bien a garder
ainsi com vous m'orrez conter;
puis l'estuia e mist en sauf;
nel sorent chevelu ne chauf
ne mès que il seul seulement.
après ne demora gramment
que il a Pylates requist
le precieus cors Jhesu Crist

Between 35 and 36, 12,577 inserts the line 'si com raconte li escris.' As there is no corresponding rhyme, and it is not found in 794, I have omitted it.

l. 42, 'au lever.'
l. 53, 'I voult et tot autretel fet.'
l. 54, 'com N. S. au ior estoit
qu'il an la crois.'
l. 59, 'car nulz homs nus.'
l. 69, 'à iaphes le mist en la mer.'

qu'il li donna [st] pour ses soudées ;
ne l'en querroit autres denrees ;
il li otroia volentiers.
Joseph le vaillant chevaliers
moult doucement le saint cors prist,
jus de la noire crois le mist ;
d'un sydoine qu'il ot acheté
l'a doucement envelopé,
puis le posa au monument,
ce savons nous veraiement.
. . . . .
en .I. chier aumaire entaillié
a le Graal bien estoié
et .II. cierges riches ardans
ot devant lui merveilles grans
et il chascun jour au juner
l'aloit prier et aourer
pour la hautesce e pour l'amour
du verai sanc Nostre Seingneur
tant qu'il en fu aperçeüs
par ses gens e desconneüs
que il menoit si faite vie.'

Here follows the account of the imprisonment and release, of no value for our purpose.

The Jews decide to exile Joseph and all his friends :

'et Nichodemus autresi,
qu'a merveilles preudome estoit
et une belle soeur avoit.
cil avoit taillié e pourtrait
.i. volst, e trestout aussi fait
com Nostres Sires fet estoit
que en la crois veü avoit ;
mès de ce sui fis e certains
que Dame Deu i mist ses mains

au figurer, si com l'en dist,
car ainz nulz homs puis tel ne vit,
ne ne puet estre manouvrez.
le pluseur de vous le savez,
que iluecques avez esté;
veü l'avez e esgardé.
quant il sot qu'il en dut partir
e de la terre hors issir
le volst prist moult repostement
sanz le seü de nule gent
si l'en porta sanz demourer
droitement le mist en la mer
a Dame Dieu l'ot comandé
en qui semblance il l'ot formé
puis retorne a Joseph tot droit.'

To whom, meanwhile, God had, in a vision, promised land for himself and his comrades. The rest of the story has no points of interest for us.

Here, then, we find that the reverence paid to the sacred relic, the same in each story, leads to precisely the same results. Note that it is not by outsiders that the accusation of idolatry is brought: in the case of Isaac it is his wife, in that of Joseph, 'ses gens.' The action ascribed to Nicodemus is most suggestive. What is the object he commits to the waves? Most certainly not, as generally stated, the 'Veronica.' It is an image of Our Lord as He hung on the Cross, sculptured by Nicodemus himself, with Divine assistance. I think there can be little doubt we are here dealing with the 'Vaudeluque,' or 'Volto Santo' of Lucca, a crucifix in cedarwood, said to have been carved by Nicodemus, and still preserved in the cathedral of Lucca, whither it is said to have been miraculously transported from the Holy Land in 782. It is

shown publicly three times in the year, while the tradition of its carving by Nicodemus is preserved in a fresco of the north aisle.

Here, then, the poet is referring to an already well-known and established relic, and there can be little doubt that the public to whom he appeals is a public which was in the habit of going on pilgrimage to noted shrines. Fescamp was one such shrine, Lucca another. The interest of this point we shall see immediately.[1]

But the whole story recalls that of Isaac, and the parallel commitment of the fig-tree to the waves. If we take the reverse case, and say that the Fescamp legend has been founded upon that of the Grail, the result, so far as our investigation is concerned, is practically the same, the Grail story, in order to have affected a legend of the proven antiquity of that of Fescamp must of necessity be far older than we have hitherto supposed;[2] while the

[1] *Vaudeluque.* 'Le Christ en croix de Lucques, sculpture attribuée à Nicodeme. Des imitations de celui-ci furent portées de tous cotés, et bien qu'elles reprèsentassent une figure entiére on la confondit avec la Sainte Face, et on lui donna le nom de Saint Voult, qui designait la Saint Face de Rome, et qui aurait du lui être reservé. La copie qu'on avait exposèe dans l'église de Saint Sepulchre à Paris etait nommée par le peuple Saint Vaudelu.' Cf. Godefroi, *Dictionnaire de la Langue française*, note by M. de Laborde. Cf. Appendix.

[2] Some commentators, Heinzel among them, here confuse Joseph and Nicodemus, ascribing the commitment of the relic to the sea to the former, and making the female referred to Joseph's sister. There is no doubt whatever that in the *Perceval* texts she is sister to Nicodemus. I very much distrust the elaborate argument constructed by Heinzel for the identification of Ænigeus with Veronica: there is no evidence that we are here dealing with the Veronica legend. There is probably a confusion of more than one line of tradition in the present form of the story.

legend of the 'Volto Santo,' going back to the eighth century, is older than either.

But there is another, and a substantial, reason for thinking that the active agent was in truth Fescamp. Attached to the abbey from the date of its foundation was a Confrérie of jongleurs, they subsisted from the beginning of the eleventh to well on in the fifteenth century. Leroux de Lincey prints at the end of his study on Fescamp a charter of the twelfth century, confirming the privileges of the minstrels, but with some restrictions intended to correct their rather lax mode of life.[1]

The confrérie was under the protection of S. Martin; each minstrel, on the anniversary of the saint, was expected to take part in the procession, and contribute five deniers to the offertory; all that the members, whether jongleurs or knights, for both knights and clerks appear to have been admitted to this guild, should leave at their death, might be employed for the benefit of the church. The abbot who granted this charter, Raoul d'Argences, states that the confrérie had been founded by the first abbot, William, who ruled from about 1000—the exact year of his appointment is not given—to 1031, and confirmed by Raoul's predecessor, Henry, 1140-1187.

Now the object of the existence of such a confraternity can hardly have been other than that of exploiting, for the benefit of the abbey, the legends connected therewith. Nor does Fescamp appear to have been alone in maintaining such a confrérie. M. Bédier informs me that much of the widespread popularity of the *Guillaume d'Orange* cycle was due to the activity of the minstrels attached to the monastery of S. Guilhelm du Désert. The real nature of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 378.

the part played by the monasteries in the evolution of the romantic cycles has not yet been completely realised. As we have seen above, the 'Volto Santo' appears also to have been exploited by the minstrels.

Further, the connection between Fescamp and England was close and continuous: under the first abbot a member of the royal (Saxon) family of England was a member of the order; the second abbot, Jean, in 1054 visited the court of Edward the Confessor, and received from the king donations which were confirmed and augmented by William, after the battle of Hastings. The close connection of the Norman kings with the abbey founded by their ancestor does not need to be insisted upon; and, as we have seen, the fifth abbot, Henry de Sully, was nephew to Stephen, and apparently only accepted Fescamp as a *pis aller*, having failed to obtain the see of Salisbury.

Thus on the one side of the water we have Joseph of Arimathea, the Grail, Glastonbury, and the sacred Thorn; on the other, Nicodemus, the Holy Blood, Fescamp, and the sacred Fig-tree, with constant communication between the two sides. The earliest Grail poem we possess refers to a book at Fescamp as source; the romance which shows the closest affinity with that poem introduces into the Grail procession the special Fescamp relic, the knife or knives. Is it not clear that there has been an intermingling and contamination of legends?

But let us look a little closer at the reference in the *Perceval*. It occurs, as we have seen, in the Mont Dolorous episode, which is the adventure related immediately after the mention of Wauchier de Denain. Whatever doubts may be expressed as to the authorship of other sections of this continuation, this part is certainly due to him. Now

Wauchier, according to the interesting discovery recently made by M. Paul Meyer, had for patron, Philip, Marquis of Namur, nephew on the mother's side of that Philip of Flanders who lent the book containing the original story of Perceval to Chrétien! It is doubtful whether any writer of the day would have had a better chance than Wauchier of setting eyes upon that interesting document.[1]

Taking into consideration the personality of the writer, the fact that the reference occurs in all the groups of the *Perceval* MSS., and the crucial fact of the presence of knives in Wolfram's Grail procession, I think that we have good ground for holding that the words were in the source common to Chrétien and Wolfram, and that that source was redacted under the influence of the Fescamp tradition.

Now it is of course obvious that before the Grail could have been so affected it must already have reached a stage in which the talisman had become a definitely Christian object, and one closely connected with the Passion of Our Lord. That is, before Chrétien's time it must have assumed the form in which it is most familiar to us, that of a highly mystical ecclesiastical relic. How early this happened it is as yet impossible to say, judging from the date of the foundation of the confrérie of minstrels, practically coincident with the founding of the abbey, it seems extremely

[1] Cf. *Romania*, October 1903. Wauchier translated a series of lives of the saints for this prince. Philip, Marquis of Namur, was son to Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Marguérite, sister to Philip, Chrétien's patron (*Art de vérifier les Dates*, vol. iii.). It was the father of Philip of Flanders who founded the Chapel of the Holy Blood at Bruges, enriched by Philip himself. Thus the family would have a very natural interest in the Grail legend.

probable that the Fescamp form of the story really was in existence, as claimed, at the beginning of the eleventh century. Minstrels are not an inevitable part of the organisation of a monastery; if we find them connected with any special foundation it is surely because there is some special legend which it is to the interest of that foundation to popularise. I am of opinion that the Grail in its Christian romance form is at least a century earlier than any complete extant text, and that in its non-Christian, folklore form it will be very difficult indeed to determine, even approximately, its date. In any case in all future discussion of the subject the Fescamp legend can hardly be left out of account. (It is quite possible that an examination of the records of the abbey might provide us with the names of the members of that minstrel body, and throw a welcome light upon the growth of our romance.)

In addition to the Fescamp legend, the only passage of special interest as regards the Grail I have noted occurs in the account of Gawain's arrival at the castle of Brandelis in B. N. 12,576. Here it is said that on entering the hall he

> 'vit sor graals d'argent ester
> plus de . c . testes de sanglier.'[1]

Which seems to indicate that the copyist, or it may be the original compiler of the MS., understood the word as meaning a dish; the twin MS. Nouv. Acq. 6614 for 'graals' substitutes 'taillors.'

Is it possible that this change may throw light upon the somewhat mysterious 'tailléor' in Chrétien's Grail procession. Here it is certainly no paten, but an ordinary

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 74.

dish large enough for the server to carve upon it the 'hanche de cerf a poivre' which forms the first course.[1]

Now, as far as we can gather from the *Bleheris* version, the Grail, in its early non-Christian form, was a food-providing talisman; in its Christian form Helinandus says it was a dish, and Borron, the Dish of the Last Supper. In the *Queste* it is a chalice, and so it appears to be in the *Perceval*. Now, when it first became converted into a chalice, did the remembrance of its earlier form and meaning survive, and was it introduced into the Grail procession as bearing the food of which the king and his household partake? I think, in an intermediate stage of development, it may well have been so, but when the identity of the Grail with the chalice was firmly established, and the full symbolism of the Mass brought to bear on the story, then the transformation of 'tailléor' into paten would follow almost automatically. In the *Gawain-Grail* procession the 'tailléor' is said to be 'petit.' The point appears to merit consideration.

One point more, is Perceval connected with the Grail by virtue of any peculiarity essentially and originally bound up with his legend? Before I began the close study of the texts I was decidedly of that opinion; now I can no longer think so. I feel sure now that the original hero was Gawain and that Perceval's connection with the

[1] 'de la hanche de cerf au poivre
. 1 . varlet devant euls trancha
qui a lui traite la hanche a
a tout le tailleor d'argent
e les morciaus lor met devant
sor . 1 . gastel qui fu entiers.'
B. N. 12,577, fo. 19; Potvin, 4461-7.
This passage is found in all the texts.

Grail is accidental rather than inevitable. I can find nothing in the original tale which must of necessity have resulted in the Grail development. Perceval was not on the direct road to the Grail Castle, but there are three bye-ways, any one of which might have conducted him hither. If his story was such as I have sketched it in the preceding chapters, he was early looked upon as a breaker of spells—the Grail Castle is, in some versions, certainly a be-spelled castle; Perceval may have reached it by that road. Again, in some texts his father is slain by treachery—a vengeance theme seems to be associated with the castle; this also might have brought him thither. Thirdly, and this is perhaps the most probable, the earliest form of the story is associated with Gawain; the *Gawain* and *Perceval* stories very early came into contact with, and mutually affected, each other (we shall see this more clearly later on). As the Grail story became Christianised, Perceval simply replaced Gawain, his story lending itself more easily to a moral and edifying development. Nor indeed is any one of these three solutions exclusive of the other two, all may have played a part in bringing about the ultimate result; the one point on which I think we may be certain is that Perceval was not the original Grail hero.

CHAPTER VI

CHASTEL ORGUELLOUS AND CHASTEL MERVEILLEUS

THE adventures of Perceval, subsequent to his departure from the Grail Castle and previous to the reproaches directed against him by the Loathly Messenger, do not call for detailed notice here: interesting in themselves they are not of immediate importance for determining the growth of the poem in its present form. In a note to the previous chapter, I have expressed my opinion that the adventure with the Lady of the Tent and her jealous husband is in truth an independent story, introduced into the framework of our tale with but little regard for time or probability. In the episode of the blood-drops on the snow and consequent love-trance we are on different ground. The incident is of purely folklore character, is found in primitive [1] Celtic romantic tradition, and may well have formed, from an early date, a part of Perceval's love story. Whatever the nature of the lady, whether fairy or mortal maiden, such an incident would be well in place; also from the frequent repetition of the discomfiture of Kaÿ and Segramor [2] it

[1] Cf. note contributed by Mr. Alfred Nutt to my translation of the *Parzival*, Book VI.

[2] Cf. *The Three Days' Tournament*, Grimm Library, No. XV. pp. 5, 41, etc.

seems possible that its elaboration was coincident with the introduction of our hero into the Arthurian cycle. The MSS. give the story practically without variant, and I think we may safely assume that before Chrétien's time it was an accepted feature of the story.

From the point of view of literary criticism, the interest of the poem centres in the message of the Loathly Maiden who upbraids Perceval for his failure at the Grail Castle, and announces adventures to be achieved by Arthur's knights, with the subsequent arrival of Guigambrésil and his challenge to Gawain. Unless I am much mistaken, this is the crucial moment of the poem, the parting of the ways, and only by a very close study of the sequence of events shall we be in a position to solve in any degree the complicated problems which await us in Wauchier's text.

Let us take first the message as delivered by the hideous maiden. After having, at considerable length, reproached Perceval for his failure to ask concerning the Grail, and foretold the evils which shall follow upon his silence, she turns to the King and asks if he has heard of the Chastel Orguellous[1] with its five hundred and sixty-six knights, each with his 'amie' who are ready to give battle to all comers. It behoves her to be there ere nightfall. But still greater fame awaits the knight who can deliver the damsel besieged on Mont Esclaire; he shall safely gird himself with the sword '*as estranges renges.*'[2] With these words she departs, and Gawain at once announces his intention of going to the rescue of the besieged maiden; Giflet 'fis Do' will test the adventure of Chastel Orguellous and Kahedin will ascend Mont Dolorous—Perceval, of course, will go in

[1] Potvin, ll. 5981-6095.

[2] B. N. 1450 and B. M. Add. 36,614 give 'as *estroites* renges.'

search of the Grail. Now here, at the outset, we have a curious detail, the adventure of Mont Dolorous, undertaken by Kahedin, has not been announced by the Grail messenger; it is never, in any text, included in her list of knightly feats. It must not be confounded, as some critics have confounded it, with Mont Esclaire, to which Gawain will go, but is a distinct and independent story known alike to Wauchier and the compiler of the *Elucidation* and related by the former.[1] It is closely connected with a tradition of Arthur's birth akin to that given by Layamon (who here differs from Wace), and is ascribed in its inception to Merlin. Now if this section, as it now stands, is to be ascribed purely to the invention of Chrétien it is, to say the least, somewhat curious that the adventure of Mont Dolorous should in all the texts without exception be omitted from the list of those announced by the Grail messenger.

But let us pass on. Scarcely have the knights declared their intentions when a new comer makes a sudden and abrupt appearance upon the scene:

> 'et, que que il s'aparelloient,
> par mi la sale venir voient
> Guigambrésil par mi la porte
> de la sale'[2]—

He accuses Gawain of the treacherous murder of his lord, and challenges him to single combat, at the expiration of forty days, before the King of Escavalon. Gawain promptly accepts the challenge and prepares to depart, to the great grief of all the court.

[1] Potvin, ll. 33,850-34,338.
[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 6125-8.

The poet now, forsaking the *Perceval* story, states that he is about to tell Gawain's adventures at length; and we follow him through his share in the tourney at Tintaguel to his arrival at the court of Escavalon, where, his host having never seen him, he is committed to the care of the king's sister, recognised, and is in imminent peril of death when Guigambrésil, whom he thus appears to have outridden, appears on the scene, and claims the observance of the safe-conduct which he has promised. A year's respite is proposed, during which Gawain shall seek the Bleeding Lance, and in the event of his failing to obtain it shall return to fulfil the combat with Guigambrésil. No question is raised in the MSS. of his pledge to free the maiden of Mont Esclaire; the Grail-Lance quest has practically superseded the earlier undertaking.

After this divergence the story returns to Perceval,[1] and we are told that five years have elapsed since his departure from Arthur's court. The visit to his hermit uncle, with whom he remains three days, Good Friday to Easter, is recounted, and the poet leaving him abruptly takes up the adventures of Gawain at the point at which he left them. Thus a period covered by six weeks in the case of the one knight extends over five years in the case of the other.

Returning to Gawain, we hear no more of the besieged maiden,[2] or the sword, '*as estranges renges*,' in quest of which he originally set forth, nor is the Chastel Orguellous mentioned; but his wanderings lead him to another castle, which we will call the Chastel Merveilleus, the perils of

[1] Potvin, ll. 7591-7892.

[2] In the Dutch *Lancelot*, Gawain, when bidden to seek the spear, states that he must first fulfil his pledge to free the maiden.

which he overcomes, and of which he is hailed lord and master.

Now what are we to make of this confusion of *motif* and time? Similar contradictions are not unknown to Chrétien's work. In the previous chapter we noted one such in connection with the Lady of the Tent, and in a comparison of the French and English *Ywain*,[1] I, some years ago, drew attention to another; but there are none so glaring as those found in this section of the *Perceval*. We have the shaming of the hero by the Grail messenger, followed by a series of adventures proposed by her and accepted by the knights of Arthur's court, with the remarkable addition of one not mentioned by the maiden but fulfilled in a later section. Then a repetition of the introductory incident, Gawain being now the object of attack, followed by a detailed series of adventures entirely different to those announced. A gap of five years in the history of Perceval, occurring during a period of six weeks in that of Gawain, succeeded by the practical disappearance from the scene of the original protagonist of the drama, whose place, for the next 14,000 lines (7893-21,917), is taken by Gawain.

What is the explanation of all this? The blame cannot, indeed, be all laid on the shoulders of Chrétien, who only continued the poem for another 3000 lines. But how did it come to pass that the writer who undertook to complete the unfinished work followed on these particular lines, and instead of returning to the original subject matter of the poem, the story of Perceval, confined himself instead to that of Gawain?

[1] Cf. *Modern Language Quarterly*, vol. i.

After a careful study of all the available texts, the following solution has forced itself upon my mind, as providing the only coherent explanation of the problem. The *Perceval* story, before it reached the hands of Chrétien, had undergone two successive contaminations with independent versions of the *Gawain* legend; it first came in contact with, and was incorporated into, a group of short episodic poems, which, for convenience-sake, we will call from the title of the central episode, the *Chastel Orguellous* group. This group represents, I believe, the earliest stratum of the Arthurian romantic tradition we as yet possess, and may not improbably go back as far as the tenth century. Into the origin and reputed authorship of this group of tales, we will inquire later; for the moment it is sufficient to say that it appears to have been the common property of the minstrels of the period, that a MS. containing it was known to, and used by, Wauchier; and that, combined with later sections of the Arthurian story, it lies at the root of the perplexing *Elucidation* prefixed to Mons, and included, in an abridged form, in the translation of Wisse-Colin and the edition of 1530. The character of this group was that of popular folk-tale rather than of deliberate and inventive literature.

The second *Gawain* is of an entirely different character. It was an elaborate poem, of considerable literary merit, which, from its central episode, we will call the *Chastel Merveilleus*.[1] The origin of this central incident was of

[1] It has seemed to me more convenient to use the French equivalent of Wolfram's *Schâtel Merveil*, a term which has now become familiar through the numerous studies upon the *Parzival*, rather than the name *Roche de Sanguin*, given to the castle by Guiromelans, and only once found in Chrétien. It is worthy of note that in the unique

equally primitive and archaic character with the story themes of the first group, but its treatment was much later. It was undoubtedly extremely well known, not only to Wauchier, but to the literary world of the time in general, and the copyists of Chrétien's poem used it freely and independently. So much so, indeed, that I am of opinion that a very considerable portion of the original could be recovered and reconstructed. To this source must be attributed that section of the *Perceval* which, in the edition of M. Potvin, extends from l. 6125, the arrival of Guigambrésil, to l. 11,596, the commencement of the 'Brun de Branlant' episode. In MSS. of the longer redaction, notably in B. N. 12,577 and Edinburgh, it occupies considerably more space.

In the succeeding chapter I shall endeavour to prove this theory, for the moment I will only state, shortly and simply, the grounds on which it is based.

From the point of taking up Gawain's adventures we find in the texts considerably more variation than has hitherto been the case. So far as the ground is covered by Chrétien's poem, these variations are not very extensive, but they exist, and are of a different character from the merely verbal variants met with in the earlier part of the work. Such, for example, are the reference to the Mont Esclaire quest, noted in the Dutch *Lancelot*, the varying forms of the prophecy concerning the Lance; also the speeches of the characters are given at varying length. Neither Flemish nor Dutch translation agrees closely with the French here, while, so far as the latter is concerned,

text of the *Livre Artus*, B. N. 337, the name given to the castle is that of *Chastel de la Merveille*, which is clearly at the root of Wolfram's form.

when we come to the *Lancelot* and *Queste* sections, we find that, though abridged, it reproduces the French original with remarkable fidelity.

From the point at which Gawain's messenger reaches the court, that is, from the end of Chrétien's poem, these variants increase in number, while maintaining a well-marked character, what may be called a general uniformity in the midst of diversity. We have two main groups, the longer (I.) and the shorter (II.) redaction; but the remarkable point is that no one version adheres completely and consistently to either. Here and there in a text of redaction I. we find passages omitted, which are given elsewhere; or abridged, and the longer form of these abridged sections given in full in a text of redaction II. To make my meaning clear, the version of B. M. Add. 36,614 belongs as a whole to redaction II., but the account of the coming of Guiromelans, a very fine and characteristic passage is given at full length, and in complete agreement with the text of B. N. 12,576, a representative of redaction I. It also includes a passage found only in Edinburgh, a member of C. the most extended group of all. B. N. 12,576 omits a very important passage, relative to the nature of Gawain's feat in winning the Chastel Merveilleus, which passage is found in group C., and is, moreover, in complete agreement with the indications given by Chrétien. B. N. 1450, a MS. of redaction II., gives the confession of Gawain, previous to his combat with Guiromelans, in an extended and unique form, the first six lines of which, however, agree exactly with redaction I. In the same way the grief of Clarissans is here given at great length, and in a form which may well be the basis of the shorter versions.

The marked peculiarities of this section of the poem, the fundamental agreement of the different versions, and their substantial harmony with the indications given by Chrétien, led the late M. Gaston Paris[1] to the conclusion that the copyists were here working on notes left by Chrétien; but this suggestion, while it recognises the peculiarities which differentiate this section from the later portions of the work, does not seem to me to meet all the conditions of the problem. We can hardly presuppose so widely diffused a knowledge of these notes as would be necessary in the case of MSS. written at different times and places, and clearly not dependent on each other. Also, had they existed, we might, I think, expect to find *one* complete and coherent version; the peculiar interrelation of the texts seems to call for another solution. I believe this solution is to be found in the theory of a common original, well known alike to Chrétien and to his copyists.

It is worthy of note here that Borel, in his *Trésor d'Antiquités*, beside the *Perceval* MS., to which I alluded in chapter i.,[2] knew, and used, a *Gawain*, which agreed, in part at least, with the *Chastel Merveilleus* text, for he cites from it the opening lines of the meeting with Guiromelans.[3] I think it not impossible that the latter, and older, section of the 'Riccardiana' MS. may eventu-

[1] *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, 3rd ed., p. 105.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 28.

[3] 'tant que un seul chevalier vit
qui gibeçoit d'un espervier
el pré devant le chevalier.'

These three lines will be found to be identical with Potvin, ll. 9907-9.

ally prove to be a portion of this earlier poem, which has been prefaced by the *Perceval* redaction. The point of juncture, the coming of Guigambrésil, represents a situation found elsewhere in the Arthurian story, *i.e.* the public shaming of the protagonist of the tale. We have the same incident in *Le Chevalier au Lion*, where Ywain is publicly reproached by his wife's messenger with his failure to fulfil his pledge of return. I would suggest that it was the existence of this feature in the earlier *Perceval-Gawain* combination which gave the idea for the introduction of the *Chastel Merveilleus* poem, the central 'motif' of which was this unjust and insulting accusation directed against the most famous and chivalrous of Arthur's knights.[1]

My reading of the problem then is that in the events at Arthur's court we have the introductory section to two independent *Gawain* stories, the first, and older, of which (*Chastel Orguellous*) was displaced in favour of the second, and at the time more generally popular *Chastel Merveilleus*. Up to line 11,596 of Potvin's edition this was the source followed by the continuators and copyists.

From line 15,788 to the end of his poem, which concludes abruptly, and does not appear to have been really finished, Wauchier used a MS. of the *Chastel Orguellous* collection, containing the *Perceval* interpolations, but differing from that known to the author of the *Elucidation*. These two sources form the backbone of the first continuation, but between them are interpolated, for a reason which when we have studied the *Chastel Orguellous* section will become apparent, two independent stories or story-

[1] The shorter redaction practically ignores this, and gives Gawain no opportunity of clearing his character, a task which he triumphantly achieves in the longer version.

groups, that of *Brun de Branlant* and that of *Carados*. Both of these we shall find eventually to depend for their insertion upon the existence within their framework of earlier and *Gawain* themes. Their introduction throws, as Professor Heinzel[1] saw, the whole chronology of the poem out of gear, and in the case of the second I am by no means sure that it was in Wauchier's original text.

Thus the difficulties, and apparent contradictions, of this section of the *Perceval* are due not to its being the work of different hands—the theory of a *pseudo*-Wauchier must, I think, be discarded—but to the fact that the sources drawn upon belonged to different stages of the Arthurian tradition. The *Chastel Merveilleus* poem is the work of a writer of Chrétien's period; the *Chastel Orguellous* of one of an earlier generation. Literary activity in this special field was of much earlier date, and of much more extended character than we have hitherto recognised; rightly studied and understood the first continuation to Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval* will, I believe, prove to be a veritable treasure-store of Arthurian tradition, and by far the most valuable text for critical purposes which we, as yet, possess.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

CHAPTER VII

CHASTEL MERVEILLEUS

ALTHOUGH this poem forms the subject of the second *Gawain* contamination, yet, inasmuch as it has displaced the first, and is the source followed alike by Chrétien for the latter part of his poem, and by the copyists, it will be more convenient to pursue, for the present, this path, leaving on one side the *Chastel Orguellous* adventures as announced by the Grail messenger.

For the moment we may accept, as proven, the theory advanced in the last chapter, and holding the source of this portion of the *Perceval*, whether due to Chrétien or to another, to be one poem, will make no break in the argument, but simply noting where Chrétien's share ends, treat the section covered by lines 6125, the coming of Guigambrésil, to 11,596, the commencement of *Brun de Branlant*, in a continuous manner.

For the first part of the poem we have only slight variants. The names differ somewhat: the knight whose servant Gawain meets, and who tells him of the tourney at Tintaguel, is named *Droes-Daves* in B. N. 12,576; *Traez-Davez* in 794; and *Tresches-Daines* in 12,577; variants which seem worth noting here, as they appear to indicate on the part of 794 that position midway between

the groups represented by the two other texts which in the first chapter I have assigned to it.[1]

The son of Gawain's host, Garin, is in the majority of texts not named; but where this is the case the variants are interesting. B. N. 12,577 and Mons call him Hermans; Riccardiana, Tiebalt (probably a confusion with his lord); Heralds' College and the Dutch translation, Herbaus, Herbauds, which seems to combine the two first; B. N. Add. 36,614, Bertrans; and B. N. 1450, Brehais, which may well be a misrendering of this last. The curious point of these variants is the apparently German form of the name. Throughout the Dutch translation there are, in this and the following adventure, numerous variants. I am, indeed, by no means sure that here the Dutch and Flemish versions are following Chrétien's text. It is noteworthy that the former entirely omits the visit of Perceval to the hermit, but intercalates the adventures of Giflet at Chastel Orguellous. Certain details of the adventure at Escavalon are preferable to the French version. I have already noted that Gawain, when the quest of the Lance is proposed to him, objects that he is already pledged to the adventure of Mont Esclaire. When Guigambrésil arrives to find Gawain besieged in the tower, he reminds him that, when offering him safe-conduct he had warned him of the danger he would run in entering any town belonging to the slain king, a detail which is not in Chrétien. Again, in Gawain's adventure with the Proud Lady of Logres, who we may remark is in the Dutch, as in the German version, simply called Orgeluse, we are told that he first rides towards the water, and on her telling him he would lead her astray explains that, having come

[1] Cf. B. N. 12,576, 19 *vo*; 794,379 *vo*; 12,577, 28 *vo*.

by one road, he would fain return by another, whereon she insists on his going back the same way. Also, that she watches him secretly to test his valour, which prepares the way for her explanation of her conduct later on. None of these touches are in the French text.[1]

But to return to Chrétien and his source; the first passage of real importance for our inquiry is contained in the speech of the wounded knight, Gréoreas. He advises Gawain to return :

'ains chevalier ne poc veïr
qui ça alast ne camp ne voie,
que c'est la bogue de Galvoie,
une tiere moult felenesce,
et si i a gent moult perverse ;
ains chevalier n'i puet passer
qui puis en peuist retorner:'[2]

[1] The *Perceval* section of the Dutch *Lancelot* extends from l. 36,948 to l. 42,540 of vol i., where *Morien* begins.

[2] Potvin, ll. 7964-70. As a rule l. 3 reads '*bone* de Galvoie.' I add the version of B. N. 1453, which gives the speech at greater length. The first portion, up to Gawain's announcing his intention of proceeding, agrees with Mons, but from this point it diverges considerably. I give a part, but a part only, of the passage: (fo. 46 *vo.*).

'fet le chevalier afolez :
vous iroiz, que molt desirez
vostre pris croistre a alever ;
mes, s'il ne vous devoit grever,
molt volentiers vous prieroie
que, se Dex l'onneur vous otroie
c'onques chevalier a nul temps
ne pot avoir (ne ge ne pens
que il aviegne que nus l'ait,
ne vous ne autre par nul plait,
ce ne poroit pas avenir,
ne plus que l'en puet bien couvrir

None have ever returned save himself, and he is so desperately wounded he may scarce live till evening.

---

la lune de son petit doi),
quar ne ge pens pas ne ne voi
que nus hons puist avoir tel grace
de fere ce qu'autre ne face,
quar tant bon chevalier i a
passé qui onc n'en retorna,
ne ge ne autre, biax douz sire;
ne vous le mieudre ne le pire
n'estes pas, a mon escient:
bien pert en vous que hardement
y ait pris son herbergement,
qui bien sait eslire la gent
et trier les hardis des bons (*l.* buens),
quar il tient les hardis a siens (*l.* suens)
et les mauvès met d'autre part.
E pour ce que en vous regart
que cortoisie et hardement,
sens et tout bon enseignement,
Sont vostre compaignon ensemble,
S'en devez estre, ce me semble,
plus atemprez e de mesure.
Et se Damedieu l'aventure
veut par vous traire a fin d'ici,
biau sire, la vostre merci,
.I. don vous demant et requier
ge qui sui pouvre chevalier
En poverte chaüz sans doute
(que, se ceste terre estoit toute
moie, a la doleur que ge sent
ne la priseroie noient)
biau sire, la vostre merci
que vous en reviegniez par ci
savoir se serai mort ou vis
ou s'il me sera miex ou pis;
et si mort sui, par charité,
el non de sainte Trinité,
de ceste pucele vous pri
que vous prenez garde de li
qu'ele n'ait honte ne mesese.'

Now in the MSS. of group C, on the arrival of Gawain's messenger at court, he announces the safety of the hero, and moreover states,

'si a conquise tele honor
que nul chevalier n'ot greignor
car il est alez jusques la
ou onques chevalier n'ala
que de cest regne fust naïs
qui puis rentrast an cest païs.
mult a bien esploitié sa voie :
passez a les porz de Gauvoie
que nus fors il sol ne passast
que son cors destruit ne lassast ;
mais par son sen les a passez
si bien qu'onques ne fu lassez.'[1]

The speech continues in the same strain, explaining how the maiden's beauty had been the cause of his rashness, for over forty more lines. The whole episode occupies from the first line of his speech to the departure of Gawain 125 lines against 52 of Mons. Yet, as noted in the first chapter, these texts, as a rule, go together, and neither of them belong to the longer version. Clermont-Ferrand, which also gives the section at length, has a line not in B. N. 1453 :

'si vos avez icele honor
que fils de roi n'empereor
ne nus altre hom a nul tens
ne pot avoir.'

fo. 108.

This would seem to indicate that the version of 1453 was not the invention of the copyist, but existed in his original. These variants show some of the difficulties which beset this portion of the text.

[1] Edinburgh, fo. 25 *vo.* I have quoted the passage from Edinburgh, as the oldest MS. of the group, and the one which, not improbably, represents the parent text.

The passage is also found in a slightly different form in the Dutch translation:

'sine vrient mogens hebben ioie
hi es leden di pale van Galoie
hi heeft verwonnen in der campaengen
den overmodegen vom der montangen
ende van den wondere oec den casteel
heeft hi gewonnen al gheheel,
daer ombe heeft hier te voren
menech riddere sijn lyf verloren.'[1]

The rhymes clearly betray a translation from the French, but they correspond with no extant text.

Later on, when Gawain announces to Arthur the presence of his mother in the castle, he explains:

'quant Uterpandragon fu mors
vostre mere passa les pors
de Galvoie, n'en doutez mie.'[2]

In the introduction to the *Chastel Orguellous* section,

[1] Cf. Dutch *Lancelot*, ll. 40,389-96.

[2] B. N. 12,577, fo. 57; 1429, 78 *vo.*; Montpellier, 62. Edinburgh omits this passage. B. M. Add. 36,614 here again agrees with B. N. 12,576, and its twin N. A. 6614. The variant is interesting:

'quant Uterpandragon mori
Ygerne ça s'en afui
o son tresor, e prist a querre
par tot la plus soutille terre,
qui fist tant que ci asena.
del grant avoir qu'ele amena
fonda cest castel,'.

Add. 36,614, fo. 87.

This rather looks like a rationalised version of the passage given above, based upon a reminiscence of the flight of Perceval's mother.

(which, as I have stated before, represents a much older stratum of tradition) Gauvoie is alluded to as '*une terre ou maint home desvoie.*'

What is this mysterious country, the bounds of which a woman may lightly pass, but from which not the most valiant knight may hope to return? Is it not,

> 'That undiscovered country from whose bourne
> No traveller returns'?

In other words the land of the departed, the Other-world.

That Gawain's adventure at the Chastel Merveilleus represents a visit to the Other-world has for long been generally held. The character of the castle itself, the dwellers within it (in the German poem though surrounded by every luxury they are yet unwilling prisoners within its walls, and the knights and ladies dwell apart, never beholding each other's face), and the curious prohibition laid upon the conqueror, that he must never, for right or wrong, quit its shelter, have all been held unmistakable indications of its original character. The texts we are examining go to confirm this view. In the Dutch version, when Guiromelans reveals to Gawain the identity of the queens, the latter exclaims,

> 'wat sey di van desen?
> dies en mach altoes nicht wesen
> die es meer dan . XX . jaer
> dat si doet sijn wet vor waer.'[1]

In the French text the statement, though amounting to the same, is less definitely worded. Gawain remarks that neither he nor Arthur has had a mother for over twenty

[1] Cf. Dutch *Lancelot*, 40,135-8.

years, which would naturally imply the fact of the queens' death. In view of the accurate correspondence between these passages and Chrétien's text, I am of opinion that they form part of the original *Chastel Merveilleus* poem.

But the most interesting point is the position of this mysterious land. As a general rule the Land of the Departed may be said to have been located in an island, or group of islands, lying towards the west. Such, for example, are the 'Tir-nan-og' of the Irish, the 'Avalon' of the British Celts, and the 'Island' of the 'Thidrek-saga.' In the well-known identification of Glastonbury with Avalon the position of the former, surrounded by marsh lands, retains this underlying idea. Here the castle does not appear to be on an island, but simply to lie beyond a river, the crossing of which, be it noted, apparently presents no difficulty, while the name 'Galvoie' has been generally accepted as the translation of Galloway. I am not aware that there is, apart from our text, any evidence in favour of Galloway being regarded as the Other-world, but there are reasons which, to any one acquainted with the country, might have favoured this identification. 'Grey' Galloway, the mysterious border-land, looking towards the west (the traditional abode of the departed), is even to-day the home of countless wild and lawless stories. So late as a century ago Galloway with its raiders was a dangerous enough country, in primitive times it may well have possessed an even more sinister reputation.[1] But would any continental writer have made such an identification? I doubt it. He might have placed the Other-world in Avalon; he might have placed it in Glastonbury; that he should have looked

[1] Cf. M. Ferd. Lot, '*Études sur la Provenance du Cycle Arthurien*,' *Romania* XXV., pp. 18 and 24.

so far afield as the Celtic border-land seems unlikely. If we remember, moreover, that the tourney attended by Gawain is held at Tintaguel, and that one of the cities given by Arthur to Guiromelans was Nottingham-on-Trent,[1] we have, I think, good ground for maintaining that the geography of this special section of our poem is insular, and not continental.

But whether Galloway was really identified with the Other-world or not, we have evidence to prove that it was early connected with Gawain. A well-known passage of William of Malmesbury reads thus: 'Tunc (1086) in provincia Walarum, quae Ros vocatur, inventum fuit sepulcrum Walven, qui fuit haud degener Arturis ex sorore nepos. Regnavit in ea parte Britanniae quae adhuc Walweitha vocatur,' etc. M. Ferdinand Lot here identifies Walweitha with Galloway.[2]

Whatever the value of this passage as representing an historical tradition, its interest, taken in connection with the poem we are studying, cannot be ignored. We shall have more to say on this point at the conclusion of our examination of the *Chastel Orguellous.*

As is well known, Chrétien's share of the *Perceval* concludes with the arrival of Gawain's messenger at court, and from this moment the variants, while becoming more numerous, assume the perplexing character already

[1] Cf. chap. i. p. 51.

[2] I have here quoted from M. Ferd. Lot's '*Études sur la Provenance du Cycle Arthurien*' III., *Romania*, vol. xxv. p. 2, as the identification with Galloway is here given; but it is also quoted by M. Gaston Paris, in his introductory study to vol. xxx. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, and by Sir Frederick Madden in the introduction to his *Syr Gawayne*. The date of the passage is given by M. Paris as 1125.

described. We can here only briefly touch on the leading features. In certain texts (B. N. 12,577, B. N. 1429, and Edinburgh), we have a very detailed account of the preparations for departure made by the court, and their solemn thanksgiving at the Monastery of S. Katharine. B. M. Add. 36,614, while omitting this, gives at considerable length a speech by Kay, in which he suggests the propriety of returning thanks to Heaven for Gawain's safety.[1]

The dismay of the queens at the approach of Arthur's host is in all the versions, but Gawain's mother is not always named; when she is, she is called 'Morcades.' For this name Mons substitutes the following,

> '"Fille," dit ele, "or esgardés
> or avomes (nus) vescus assés."'

The rhyme words are generally 'Morcades' 'adès.'

This is worth noting, as later on, in the description of the feast at which Bagomedes makes his appearance at court, we find the same name, but here King Lot is still alive.

A curious and picturesque detail, common to all groups of the text, is that of the decoration of the walls of Chastel Merveilleus with the jewelled armour of the five hundred newly made knights: the sun, reflected from the burnished metal, and precious stones, produces such a

[1] M. Potvin's note after l. 10,601, at the conclusion of Chrétien's part of the poem, is very incorrect. He classes Montpellier with B. N. 12,577 and 1429; but this is one of the exceptional cases in which Montpellier does not agree with the last named text. He classes 12,576 as a shorter version; and, repeating the mistake noted above, remarks that Edinburgh does not extend to this point.

dazzling effect that Arthur's host deem the castle to be enchanted. This incident is placed sometimes before, sometimes after, the departure of the King for the castle, and it is respectively Arthur himself or the knights whom he has left behind who are terrified.

On the return of Arthur and Gawain to the camp, the latter prepares for his combat with Guiromelans; and we have here one of the passages referred to in the previous chapter as important for criticism. I quote the confession at full length as given by B. N. 1450; the opening lines we shall find to be identical with the versions of B. N. 12,576, and Nouv. Acq. 6614, but no other text gives a parallel to the continuation:

'Mesire Gauvains, sans atendre, fo. 186 *ro. a.*
a dite sa confession
a un evesque Salemon.
Li sains evesque li a dit
molt bon casti et molt bon dit:
"Gauvains amis, bele faiture,
bataille n'est el qu'aventure;
n'est mie drois, mais crueltés,
et aventure com des dés,
que l'on voit perdre del millor
et gaagner bien del pior;
et cil qui mains s'en entremet
et (*sic*) bien souvent ce qu il i met.
Si est de ce verité fine
c'on voit souvent une frosine
qui n'a nul droit en la querele
vaintre . i . fort home qui apele;
ce fait viés peciés qui l'encombre.
Ne remagne rien en ten nombre
de pecié qui t'apesandisse.
Se Damedex me garandisse,

sos siel nen a .I. si grant fès,
mais, des qu'en est verais confès,
cil Dex qui est solax verais,
estent sa clarté et ses rais
sor lui et ses peciés lesece (*sic*).
Por Deu ! n'i ait mesfait ne tece
dont diable vos puisse nuire,
car il ne fait fors gent solduire. *ro. b.*
Mieus est que vos honissiez lui
que il vos fasse honte et anui ;
mais ja Dex pooir ne l'en doint !"
"Se Dex mon pecié me pardoint
onques encore ne forfis
vers home, ne mal ne li fis,
biax sire chiers, sans oquison,
(*ne nul ocis en traison ?*) [1]
Entendes que jo faire soel :
quant vi home par son orgoel
desireter dame u pucele,
cil n'estoit pas fors de querele :
ja damoisele ne seüsse,
poroc qu'amender le seüsse,
que laissaisse desireter
ne fors de sa tere jeter ;
n'onques ne le fis par envie
mais por plaissier la felonie
des oltrageus, des orgillos,
car li orgels des oltrajos
me faisoit oltragos sambler
et orgillos a l'asambler ;
mais pitié faire le faisoit,
que de lor orgoel me croissoit.
La u l'en voit rice vassal
qui tot son pooir met en mal,

[1] A line is lacking here, the above is suggested as a possible reading.—(J. L. W.)

lions ne tigre, n'autre beste,
ne puet faire si grant moleste;
rien n'est si vil, par mes .II. mains,
que cil ne vaille encore mains.
Se Dex me doint hui bon encontre,
molt lor sui alés a l'encontre."
"Amis, ci n'oi jou se bien non.
tel fuissent or tot li baron
et tot li prince e li prelat,
dont n'aroit nus song de barat,
de maior ne de provostiax,
de plaideors ne de bedels
ne de doiens por gent semondre
en cort d'evesque ne confondre,
mais selonc droit, sans oquison,
feroit l'en a cascun raison.
Or dites dont se plus i a?"
"Sire, par Deu qui me cria,
amé ai dames et puceles,
et molt volentiers les plus beles;
sire, si me gart Dex de paine,
ainc n'amai laide ne vilaine
ne por avoir, ne por riquece,
mais la bien faite par proece,
plaine de sen et de biauté."
"Amis, forçor desloiauté
n'eüssent fait li desloial.
Ci a molt pardonable mal:
de bel chevalier, ce me samble,
et de pucele bele ensamble
est pardonable li peciés,
car il n'est pas desesforciés,
mais d'une laide creature,
vilaine, fole par nature, *ro. c.*
est grant peciés, al mien quidier,
c'on i met force de pechier.

Amors n'esforce pas celui,
por ce li velt Dex plus d'anui.
Mais cil qui fine amor apele
por la bien faite, por la bele,
n'est mie asos il n'en puet mais,
si a vers Deu de legier pais,
se li peciés d'amor l'encuse,
et la destresce d'amors l'use
por la cortoise compagnie
qu'en amor est acompaignie,
et largece que Dex a chiere,
qu'amors n'a altre despensiere."
"Sire, ne lairai ne vos die :
j'ai mult amé sans vilenie."
"Amis, si m'aïst Damedés,
el siecle n'a gueres de tés,
pour ce vos tient l'on a non per
que vos n'avés al siecle per.
Itel amor ont li arcangles ;
plus estes q'hom, e poi mains d'angle.
nus hom a vus ne se puet prendre
par mal, que lui n'estuesce aprendre
la consience al recreant
q'al siecle va si bien creant,
por q'aiés droit en la querele
vers celui qui vos en apele.
Quanqu'avés fait en vostre vie
de bien vos soit hui en aïe,
et qanques vos ferois encore
vos aït altre fois et ore."
Atant finerent lor parole,
si le beneïst de s'estole.'

B. N. 12,576 gives it as follows :

puis dist lues sa confession
I. evesque Salemon,

et li evesques li a dit
maint bel sermon et maint bel dit,
et le chastie dolcement.
mesire Gauvains simplement
toz ses pechiez li a jehis,'

with which Nouv. Acq. 6614 agrees.[1]

Now let us remember that this MS., B. N. 1450, belongs distinctly to redaction II.; saving in this passage, and another, to which we shall shortly have occasion to refer, it departs in no way from the normal characteristics of this, the shorter, version. How then are we to explain this sudden, and inordinate, expansion of the prevailing text? It can scarcely be the work of the copyist, for a scribe capable of introducing so appropriate an episode (and I think all readers will agree that, given a confession on the part of Gawain, it could hardly have been cast in more characteristic a form) would surely, in the preceding ten thousand and odd lines, have given some sign of originality. He would hardly have restricted his inventive faculty to two isolated and independent passages. Taking into consideration, also, the correspondence in certain lines with other texts, it seems more probable that we have here a portion of the primitive *Chastel Merveilleus* poem.

Following upon the confession, we have an account of

[1] B. N. 1450, fo. 186; 12,576, fo. 39; Nouv. Acq. 6614, fo. 18. Montpellier carelessly makes Gawain confess twice, once here and again after arming, to a chaplain. Mons here agrees with 12,576.

The text of B. N. 1450 is very defective. I am indebted to M. Paul Meyer for kindly collating the passages quoted in this chapter with the original MS. M. Meyer agrees with me that the copyist has often failed to understand the text before him. It is practically impossible to make sense of certain passages.

the arming of Gawain, in which certain details, peculiar to group C may be noted. It is Tristan who laces on his helmet (the first mention of this hero), and there is a curious passage as to his sword:

'puis li ont une espée çainte,
qu'il n'a el monde fameençainte,
s'ele fust sor le chief ferue
du plat de celle espee nue,
que maintenant ne fust delivre,
se respasser deüst ne vivre.'[1]

In view of Gawain's persistent association with a sword of magic properties, this passage is worth noting.

Scarcely has Gawain donned his armour when the host of Guiromelans is seen approaching. The passage is of importance from the critical point of view, and I give it here from the text of B. N. 12,576, with which, contrary to the general character of the version, B. M. Add. 36,614 agrees:

'si tost comme il fu atornez, fo. 39 *ro. b.*
en estant est sor piez levez;
vers le gué perilleus esgarde,
si voit sordre, lez une angarde,
.I. grant conroi de chevaliers;
par conte en i ot trois milliers.
primes choisi les fers des lances,
après revit les connoissances,
les gonfanons et les banieres
qu'il orent de maintes manieres;
puis voit les elmes reluisans,
puis les escus reflamboians,
e puis les chiez des bons vassax
e les chiez des corans chevax,

[1] B. N. 12,577, fo. 58 *vo.* Montpellier has here fallen into line again, and the passage is found in all the members of this group.

le petit pas estroit rengié
parmi la lande ont chevalchié,
tant qu'a un arbre sont venu
mult près de l'ost le roi Artu ;
iluec se tinrent tot ensamble.
puis r'a veü, si com moi samble,
venir .I. autretel conroi
molt belement et sanz desroi,
après ciax qui venu estoient ;
autant de chevaliers avoient
come cil orent del premier.
Ainc ne s'i volrent atargier
tant qu'a l'arbre venu resont
ou li autre tuit coi s'estunt.
Devers senestre sont torné
ou il virent un mult bel pré.
Iluec retint chascuns son frain
dalez le conroi premerain.
Atant resort li tiers conrois ;
mais jamais nul jor ne verrois
chevaliers ausi bel venir
com chist vienent, et, sans mentir
en i ot .IIII. mil a armes :
l'escu trop bel par les enarmes
tint chascun, et la lance droite.
La lande ne fu mie estroite,
ainz estoit large et lee et plaine ;
et cil qui les conduist et maine
n'en lait .I. tot sol desreer
ne l'un cheval l'autre passer,
ainz vienent tuit rengié de front.
Chieres armes et cleres ont ;
ne portent mie lances simples,
ainz i pent de mult chieres guimples
et de beles ridees manches,
molt deliees et molt blanches.

Bien sont assamblé comme gent
qui de bien faire aient talent,
s'il en estoit mestiers ne leus.
Tant les maine li sire d'eus
qu'a l'arbre vienent que il voient
ou li autre les atendoient.
Iluec trestuit en .I. josterent
li trois conrois, et si s'esmerent
a .X. mile cil par dechá
de chevaliers ; bien tant i a,
ce dist chascun quis esme e voit ;
puis vient après aus, lués a droit,
.I. conroi qui n'ert pas vilains
car bien i ot, a tot le mains,
dames et puceles de pris
troi mil qui molt ont cler les vis.
Devant vienent vieleour
vielant lais, et harpeour
qui harpent sons molt dolcement ;
trop vienent envoisiement
tot droit a l'arbre ou eles virent
lor gens, ilueques descendirent.'[1]

The following is the version of B. N. 794, with which, as a matter of consistency, Add. 36,614 ought to agree :

'Gauvain li preus, li corageus
tot droit vers le gué perilleus
regarde, e vit de chevaliers
venir plus de .IIII. milliers ;
a tant les a il bien esmez ;
après en a .III. esgardez,
e puis trestoz a bones armes
les escuz pris par les enarmes

[1] Lines 53, 54 are omitted in the British Museum text (fo. 88 *vo.*). —Nouv. Acq. 6614, fo. 18.

a l'arbre près de l'ost le roi
sont descendu li . iii . conroi.'[1]

I do not think we can be mistaken in seeing in this a maladroit compression of the first text. In this second version the coming of the ladies is given separately, and at more length:

'mes sire Gauvain, ce m'est vis,
regarde atant devers le gué,
et vit venir tot acesmé
.I. conroi de .III. mil puceles
de dames et de dameiseles;
molt chevalchoient noblement,
menestrex i ot bien cent:
li uns chante, li autres viele,
cil note lais e cil fretele;
an plusors sans se deduisoient
si qu'as puceles mult pleisoient.
An la lande vert e florie
descendi cele compaignie.'

B. N. 1450, which we have quoted above for Gawain's confession, gives this section in a form more in accordance with 794, but differing considerably in the wording. It gives the coming of the knights in twelve lines, against the ten of 794, but devotes only six to the ladies, where 794 gives thirteen. These quotations will give some idea of the problems involved in the critical study of this section of the poem.[2]

[1] B. N. 794, fo. 397.

[2] I give the version of 1450 for comparison:

'Gauvains li prous, li corageus, fo. 186, *vo*, *a*.
le gué qu'il claime perilleus
regarde et si voit chevaliers
bien resordres de .III. milliers

After the arrival of Guiromelans we have the despatch of Ywain and Giflet to the camp as bearers of Gawain's challenge. Here we may remark that the presence on the

---

qui molt estoient bien armés.
Altres .III. mil . en a esmés
et puis .IIII. mil tot a armes,
et portent espius et gisarmes,
tot armé si com jo vos dis,
n'i sont mie sans armes .X.
As carmes près de l'ost le roi
en sont descendu li conroi. . . .

Gauvains regarde vers le gué
que perillous vous ai nomé :
voit venir .III. mil, que puceles,
que dames et que damiseles,
et jogleors qui lor vïelent
et notent lais et calemelent.'

The texts which give this passage in two parts intercalate between them lines which appear to me to betray the influence of the confession as given by 1450. As these lines are in Mons, I quote from that text for convenience of reference :

'Gauvain les voit, biel se contint,
et hardemens li croist et vint,
car une tel costume avoit,
que, la u le tort en avoit,
ja si foible home n'i eüst
que il de rien lï sourquerust :
tous estoit ausi come pris,
et pour chou si croissoit ses pris
moult cremoit toustans vilonie ;
vers home plain de felonie
et renconier et orguellous
estoit moult fiers et corageus,
envers frans homes pius et dous,
contre orguellous fiers et estous.'
ll. 11,119-32.

Cf. ll. 45 *et seq.* of the confession.

scene of Giflet, who, as we learn later on, has been for some time a prisoner in Chastel Orguellous, is one of the minor proofs of the independence of these two sections of the *Perceval.*

Mons gives as Ywain's companion, *Giri, fis do,* but in the general confusion of proper names which marks this text, it is impossible to say whether this is a genuine variant or a mere misrendering. In the case of B. N. 794 it is different; here we have an unknown,

> '. . . Guigan de Dolas
> que d'amer ne fu onques las'[1]—

as all the other texts, without exception, give Giflet, I suspect we have here an effort on the part of the copyist to avoid inconsistency. He knew Giflet ought not to be present, and replaced his name by one similar in sound. This is the more probable as, in the case of the two accounts of Gawain's adventure with the sister of Brandelis, this MS. and B. M. Add. 36,614 (which certainly derives from the same original) differ from all the others in making them harmonise. But here the B. M. text gives Giflet. Ywain and Giflet seem, indeed, throughout the *Perceval,* to play the rôle of the *Two courteous Messengers*: it is they who, on the arrival of Clamadeus at Arthur's court, conduct him to the presence of the Queen; they, again, who are sent to acquaint Guinevere with the tidings of Gawain's safety. This is the third occasion on which we find them playing this part.

On their arrival at the camp they find Guiromelans in the act of being armed, leaning on the shoulders of two knights while his 'cauces' are being laced on. Mons

[1] B. N. 794, fo. 397.

omits this last explanatory detail, which should, however, be noted for a reason which will appear later.

The MSS. of group C, in describing the appearance of the knight, give two lines so characteristic that they are worth recording:

'et si avoit tout sanz mentir
courbes les mains d'armes tenir.'[1]

Guiromelans' reception of the messengers is most courteous; he explains that they are the two knights he most desired to see, but at the same time he utters savage threats against Gawain, and declares himself ready for immediate combat. The details of the fight, always related at considerable length, are of minor importance for our study; but we have here, on the part of B. N. 1450, another divergence from the ordinary version of equal length and importance with that given above. It describes the grief of Clarissans, a feature noted by all the MSS. and given in varying forms; that of 1450 stands alone:

'et Clarissans sa bele soer — fo. 187 *vo. b.*
qui doble doel a en son coer
et por le frere et por l'ami;
a pou ses coers ne part par mi.
Raisons li dit molt belement
et mostra li apertement
que au frere doit mius valoir,
que plus l'en doit li coer doloir
com de celui qui tant a fait
que tos li mondes en tient plait,
et si sont andui d'une car.
Mais Amors tient a grant escar

[1] B. N. 12,577, fo. 59 *vo.*

qanque raison raisnablement
a mostré par desrainement,
dit li : "Amie, tu avoies
.I. tien ami que tu amoies
tant com pooies, noient mains ;
et cil tiens frere, cil Gauvains,
l'est venus, voiant toi, ocire ;
tu ne le pues mius desconfire,
q'ainc mais aroy si bon ne vi ;
s'il l'avoit juré e plevi
ne te poroit il faire rien
dont mais eüsses si grant bien.
sovent t'aliege ton anui
a parler dolcement de lui,
dont ne te doit mescroire nus
que ne t'en fust dols li sorplus
s'asaié solement l'avoies
et tous les trais d'amor savoies.
Tote riens a amors a mere ;
ne monte rien amor de pere
ne de frere ne de soror
envers la siue grant dolçor.
Ce vois, ce ses qu'il m'asaveure,
sambler me fait del jor une eure ;
com plus en prent et plus en velt
et plus li plaist quant plus en delt ;
amors si faitement l'atise
si que, le di bien sans faintise,
lequel qu'il ait, ou tort ou droit,
qu'ele de bon coer bien vaudroit
qu'il eüst entr'ax bone pais,
par itel covent que jamais
rien de son frere por honir

[*Two lines missing here.*]

ne c'onques ne iert ne l'eüst,

car tant puet pere e mere ovrer
qu'en puet bien frere recovrer,
mais, quant on pert son bon ami,
a paine en trove on demi.
Raison li dit: 'Molt par es vaine,
et molt te vient de male vaine.
Or ne sui jo pas en dotance
que feme n'aint frere en enfance;
estrange devienent et salvage
quant il ont mué lor corage,
e ses corages lor remue
com a l'ostor c'on trait de mue
qui de legier cange et cancele
a qanque l'ostegier l'apele:
si fait la fame, ce est drois, *vo. c.*
car .I. estrange haimeançois
d'une losenge bel retraite
que tous cels dont ele est estraite.
S'uns hom avoit une soror
qui sor totes portast la flor
com vostre frere fait sor tous,
a anvis seroit si estous
que il sofrist por feme née
que cele flor fust malmenée.
De tex amis n'est pas amere
amors, par Deu! mais d'itel frere
n'en ert si large mais nature
qu'en le traist par nule aventure."
Amors respont: "Si m'aït Dex,
mais puis que mes frere est tiex
Que molt est prous, ce li convient,
ses amis que si bien se tient.'
Oiés com Amors la deçoit
et Raisons qui bien l'aperçoit:
'or soit qu'il soit altresi ber,
dont (*l.* doi) jo le por ce tant amer?

nenil, non voir de la moitié.
s'il le sert, mal a esploitié ;
gart qu'il ne sace en nule guise.
entre .II. preus a grant devise.
proece n'est pas tous en cous
car dont en seroit siens li frous ;
proece d'armes solement
est sece e camogle (*sic*) voirement
si doit on metre tel valor
a mangier perdu por savor."
" Tex chevalier ne puis amer,
ce dist Raison, mais a l'armer
metroie paine, or m'en creés,
por ce qu'il fust tos jors armés.
Molt par aime on prou chevalier,
cortois et sage et bel parlier ;
n'ai cure d'altre vasselage
ne que de pain sans compenage.
Chevalier faus, vilains e durs
aille por Deu la oltre as Turs !
ensi fuissom nus or delivre
de cels qui vilenie enivre.
Or voilles que tes freres venque
se non, j' ai parcemin et enque,
s'envoierai les mes partot,
que molt par as le coer estout ;
e tot li frere qui l'oront
lor serors mains em priseront,
ains lor valroit tant plus d'anui,
com il valent mains de cestui,
s'em poront totes abaissier
se tu nel vex por moi laissier.
Fai le por eles, dolce soer,
atorne al frere tot ton coer !"
" Si ferai jo, sans nule faille,
car n'est pas drois que jo li faille.

ja por false ne m'en tendrois ;
a lui me tieng, car ce est drois." fo. 188 *ro. a.*
Aprés si dist : " Caitive mi
com mes frere s'iert mon ami,
ne haïr ne le doi por cie.
Biax sire Dex, que ferai gié ?
se mes amis ocit mon frere,
rien nule ne m'ert si amere
e haïr le devrai molt fort
de mon frere qu'il m'ara mort ;
mais comment sera anemie
qui tant m'ara esté amie ?
Trestous li siecles voit e siet :
cil qui bien aime a anvis het ;
ne puis jo haïr mon ami
ne amer bien mon anemi,
et tot adès faire l'estuet."
Et a ce faire qu'on ne puet
estoet il sofrir grant dolor ;
palist, noircist, mue color,
e dist : " Caitive, a tant m'en tais
Dex, se lui plaist, i mete pais."'

I add the version of Montpellier, which places the lament before, and not during, the battle :

'qu'ains creature si dolante
ne fu veüe en tot le monde.
amors le requiert e semont
qui maint anui fet e porchace
qu'ele por son ami duel face,
e resons e droit sens i treuve.
nature d'autre part li preuve
e mostre grant droit e reson
que du duel doit estre achoison
li preuz, li biax, li bons Gauvain
que il est ses freres germain

e ele est sa suer germaine.
d'une part e d'autre est en paine,
pour son frere e pour son ami.
tuit li baron sont esbahi
de la douleur de la pucele.'[1]

It seems evident that at the root of this we have precisely such an argument between love and natural affection as is set forth at length in the previous quotation.

With the interposition of Clarissans, and the consequent cessation of the combat, the correspondence between the redactions ceases. At this point they part company, and follow the respective lines described in chapter i. I have there entered fully into the question of priority, and shown that while the version of the longer redaction was completely in harmony with the indications of the story, and provided precisely such a conclusion of the 'Guigambrésil' episode as might logically be looked for, the shorter redaction, while leaving the main thread of the adventure *en l'air* yet at the last moment fell again into line, bringing Guigambrésil on the scene in a manner so confused and abrupt as to absolutely demand the explanation afforded by the other version. On these grounds I decided for the priority of the longer redaction, and allude to it as redaction I., to the shorter as redaction II.

Before summing up the results of our study of this section of our poem, and examining the two versions of redaction I., it will be profitable to devote some attention to the corresponding portion of the *Parzival*. It has generally been supposed that the parallels with the French texts ceased at the point of the conclusion of Chrétien's

[1] Montpellier, fo. 64 *vo.*

poem. A close study of the MSS. has led me to form a different view; the whole of this part of the story has, indeed, been boldly remodelled, with the design of keeping the original hero of the epic in sight, but to the close observer it seems evident that behind the newer form lie the original stories of *Chastel Orguellous* and *Chastel Merveilleus*.

The former has been, on its first introduction, discarded; it served no purpose where it was, and the retention at that point only complicated the story. It has, therefore, been dropped out of Kondrie's message, and she announces only the adventure of Schâtel Mervêil, as it is here called, whence she comes and to which she is about to return. This omission is in itself significant, and shows clearly that the author of Wolfram's source (for it is to Kyot and not to his translator that I ascribe the remodelling of the poem) had a keen sense of literary construction.

The story, from the conclusion of Chrétien's poem, follows in its main lines the march of the French texts: the messenger goes direct to the Quèen (note that in the French, Gawain has sent her a special message); he finds her in the church, absorbed in prayer for Gawain's safety. (The solemn thanksgiving of the court, in the church of S. Katharine, is, as we have seen, a feature of the longer redaction.) The queens of Chastel Merveilleus in both French and German texts watch from their windows the gathering of Arthur's host, but in the latter the old queen recognises the arms and cognisance of the knights, which, considering that she had been for many years their queen, is only what we might expect. The return visits of Gawain and the King to castle and camp are enlarged upon with the detail peculiar to the *Parzival*, but the out-

lines are the same. And here occurs a most interesting feature: Arthur tells Orgeluse, as the lady is here named, that in passing through her lands they have had some sharp encounters with her knights, and that *Jôfrêit fîs Idôl*, with others, has been made captive in her castle. Now when we remember that Jôfrêit fîs Idôl is the German equivalent for *Giflet fis Do*, and that that knight, by the logical sequence of the French tale, is at that moment a prisoner in Chastel Orguellous, the coincidence is, to say the least, curious. The account of the coming of Guiromelans (Gramoflanz), the presence of ladies in his train, and the orderly approach of his host, while described at greater length, agrees perfectly with the version of B. N. 12,576. Gawain's messengers (here the maiden, Bene, and attendant pages) find the knight under the same conditions, and at the same point of preparation.[1]

From this point the German poem diverges, introducing Perceval again upon the scene, but here, too, we have the grief of Clarissans (Itonje in the German) and the consequent appeal to Arthur. At a later point we are told that Gawain has fulfilled his pledge by returning to Escavalon (Askalon), that his innocence of the murder of the king has been proved, and that he and Kingrimursel have become friends.

If, as we have assumed throughout, the same source lies at the base of both Chrétien's and Wolfram's poems, I think we can hardly avoid the conclusion that that

[1] For all this section of the poem, cf. *Parzival*, Books XIII. and XIV. Professor Martin, in the second volume of his recently published edition, notes briefly, at the beginning of Book XIII., the existence of parallels between the German and French versions, but does not enter into the question of their nature and derivation.

source contained the *dénouement* of the *Chastel Merveilleus* story.

This, then, appears to me to be the conditions of the problem. We have, in the texts, taken collectively, an extraordinary admixture of agreement and divergence. All relate the same incidents, no two (save B. N. 12,576 and Nouv. Acq. 6614, which agree closely) relate them in such a manner that they can be held to depend directly on each other, yet from every version we can pick lines and passages absolutely identical. One group of texts, C, gives us an account of the nature of Gawain's achievement in winning Chastel Merveilleus, which agrees exactly with the indications previously given by Chrétien, yet in subsequent sections of the work we find a complete indifference to his presentment of the story. The agreement here is the more worthy of note.

Most important of all we have a certain number of passages, of quite disproportionate length, and of considerable literary ability, introduced into texts where, by logical right, they ought not to be found; and these passages show remarkable correspondence, and at times verbal agreement, with the shorter versions of other texts. At a certain point in the story these peculiarities cease, and, save in the *Carados* section, which in a minor degree presents a similar problem, do not recur again.

Now, are we to believe that a certain number, no small number too, of independent copyists, writing at separate times, and in separate places, were all of them, at one particular moment of their work, liable to be seized with a sudden desire for, and capacity of, literary expression, which, having found satisfaction in one or more elaborate and well-rounded episodes (which said episodes har-

monised in the happiest manner with the conditions of the tale), lapsed into quiescence; or that all these copyists were more or less familiar with a poem of considerable extent, literary importance, and widespread popularity, which poem was, in truth, a part of the original source drawn upon by the writer whose work they were completing?

Stated in such terms the answer appears self-evident; if Chrétien had a complete and literary source for the *Perceval* sections, as the evidence of the *Bliocadrans* prologue, and of Gerbert, would lead us to conclude, he had no less a literary source for the *Gawain* episodes, which source was known to his continuators. In the case of the *Perceval*, I doubt if we can hope to recover more than fragments; in the case of the *Gawain* it seems to me that it would be not impossible for a scholar, possessed of the requisite critical and philological equipment, to reconstruct a considerable portion. I would here merely submit the elements of the problem for the examination and decision of those more skilled in such questions than myself.

In the following chapter we will endeavour to ascertain what was the content of the latter portion of the *Chastel Merveilleus* poem.[1]

[1] It is of course possible that the actual work of Wauchier did not begin till after the conclusion of the *Chastel Merveilleus* episodes, that at first the reciters of Chrétien's poem contented themselves with concluding Gawain's adventures in accordance with the popularly known version, and that the earliest MSS. of the *Perceval* ended, where B. N. 1450 now ends, with the reconciliation of Gawain and Guigambrésil. This would account for the peculiarities of the Scandinavian text. If the translator had before him a version of the poem which knew no more of the *Perceval* story than is given in Chrétien's work, *i.e.* up to the visit of the Hermit, and not beyond, and was at

the same time aware that there was a tradition of the marriage of Perceval and Blancheflor, we can understand how he came to finish the tale as he did, separating the later *Gawain* adventures from their context. The decision of this point must depend on the date to be assigned to the literary activity of Wauchier de Denain. Considering the extreme popularity of the *Perceval* story, we can hardly suppose that Chrétien's unfinished poem was subject to even a temporary neglect; if Wauchier were not a contemporary of Chrétien, but wrote after a certain interval of time, I think it possible that the section up to line 11,596 is the work of the copyists in general based upon Chrétien's source. For information on this important point we must await the appearance of M. Paul Meyer's article on Wauchier, in the forthcoming volume of *Histoire Littéraire de la France*.

CHAPTER VIII

CHASTEL MERVEILLEUS (*continued*).—THE VERSIONS OF REDACTION I.

ASSUMING for the purposes of our inquiry that the theory advanced in the two preceding chapters is at once sound in itself, and based upon a solid foundation of fact, that there was, in truth, a *Chastel Merveilleus* poem, what would be the probable form assumed by that poem if complete?

I think we may postulate two endings, the one inevitable: Gawain must return to Escavalon, with or without the Lance, and free himself from the charge brought against him; the other probable, an interval of one year being supposed we might find other adventures, besides the necessary Grail visit, occurring between his departure from Court and arrival at Escavalon. As a matter of fact, the existing texts provide us with examples of both these endings, for redaction I. falls into two distinct groups, representing respectively the conclusions suggested above. The larger number of texts belong to the first, which we may call group A. They are B. N. 12,576; Nouv. Acq. 6614; B. N. 1429; and Montpellier. The German translation of Wisse and Colin also belongs to this group. Group B is represented by two MSS. only, B. N. 12,577, and Edinburgh; also by the edition of 1530. The Dutch translation here represents an independent text, intercalating

adventures of Gawain and other knights, and the winning of the sword '*as estranges renges*' between his departure from Escavalon and his meeting with the wounded knight. After his departure in wrath from the court we have only the adventures of group A, but, as I noted in chapter i., the final *dénouement* is different. Thus redaction I. is represented by six MSS. and three printed texts, redaction II. by five MSS. The real interest of the inquiry centres in group B. A is, as noted above, practically inevitable, and is, moreover, witnessed to, in a contracted form, by the versions of redaction II. The adventures of B, occurring as they do in two MSS. only, are much less well known, and are worth detailed study. The principal point appears to be, are they adventures which might well here be ascribed to Gawain, or which are elsewhere assigned to him?

All the three versions here agree, and I shall quote from that contained in the Paris MS.[1]

We are told that on Gawain's departure from court, he rides all day through the land, continuing his journey by moonlight. A heavy storm comes on, driving him to seek shelter under a tree, but the morning dawns fair and calm. He meets a maiden riding a black mule, and carrying an ivory horn, who warns him that the land belongs

> 'á la demoiselle amoureuse
> qu'en la lande aventureuse
> a son recet e son manoir.'

[1] Cf. B. N. 12,577, fo. 63 *vo*. Owing no doubt to the mistake made by M. Potvin as to the character and extent of the Edinburgh MS., it has generally been supposed that the version of the Paris MS. was unique. Waitz, in his study of the continuations of Chrétien, was under this impression.

Gawain may be imprisoned by her. The maiden invites him to rest and refreshment; he has need of both. Sounding her horn, one hundred knights, with valets and maidens, come up; food is prepared, and Gawain dismounts, and sits down beside the lady. A knight rides up, snatches the horn from the maiden's neck, and rides off with it. Gawain pursues him, and on his refusal to return the horn they fight, and the knight is slain. Gawain makes his way back to the maiden, returns the horn, and asks her name, and that of the knight. She is 'la pucele au cor d'yvoire,' and her aggressor was Marcarot de Panthelyon. In gratitude she presents Gawain with a ring, which has the property of enabling the wearer to overcome any five men, however strong.

They part, and Gawain, riding on, meets a hideous dwarf, whose description agrees closely with that of the Grail messenger in Chrétien. He reproaches Gawain with his failure to keep his promise to the Lady of Mont Esclaire; he should be the flower of knighthood, but is now going from bad to worse. Gawain admits his fault, and swears he will not remain more than one night in any place till he has fulfilled his vow.

This incident deserves study; there is undeniably a connection of some sort between this dwarf and Chrétien's messenger, the point is which, or where, is the original of the sketch? The maiden in Chrétien reproaches Perceval with his failure to fulfil the Grail quest; now Perceval is not the original protagonist of the Grail story, therefore it is not certain that the incident was originally connected with him. The dwarf reproaches Gawain with his failure to fulfil the adventure of Mont Esclaire. Of this adventure Gawain, so far as we can tell from the versions preserved

to us, was the original hero, and open to such reproaches. The dwarf is, by description, a duplicate of the Loathly Messenger; Wolfram, in describing the squire of the 'Orgeluse' adventure, elaborates Chrétien's presentment of the character, and makes him brother to Kondrie, the Grail messenger. In the *Parzival* the squire belongs to Orgeluse, who is lady of the 'Terre Mervêil,' and might well lay claim to the title of 'la damoiselle amoureuse.' There are points here which demand study, and forbid us to dismiss the story, as we might otherwise be tempted to do, as a mere imitation of Chrétien.

Leaving the dwarf, Gawain continues on his way, and comes to a lighted tent; he hears sounds of lamentation, and looking in, sees a dead body on a bier. He enters to make inquiries, when the wounds of the corpse burst out bleeding afresh, and reveal him as the slayer. He is at once set upon by four knights, eager to avenge their kinsman, Marcarot. By aid of the miraculous increase in his strength, Gawain slays three of his assailants, and the fourth, Clarion de la haute foret soutaine, yields to him.[1] Of this incident, in which Gawain unwittingly betrays himself as slayer, and incurs thereby imminent danger, we have, in Arthurian romance, no less than four distinct accounts: the one here recorded, one in Gerbert, and two in Dutch translations, one found in the *Morien*, the other in *Walewein*. The latter three all manifestly derive from a common source, for in them, at the moment of discovery, Gawain is a guest in the castle of the father of the slain knight, or knights. The situation is at once more dramatic, and more dangerous. Of the four versions that of the *Morien* is the best, and is extremely well worked out.

[1] Cf. B. N. 12,577, fo. 68 *vo*.

The story must certainly early have been connected with Gawain, and, so far as I am aware, it is told of no other Arthurian hero.

In the account of the conflict with the knights there is one curious detail, Gawain smites one with the sword, and we are told that

> 'le chief li a du bu sevré
> si soef c'onques nel senti
> or set Dieu qui onc ne menti.'

Now this was precisely the crowning feat of Wieland's famous sword contest; he smote his adversary's head from the trunk so deftly that, till the latter made an involuntary movement, and the head fell off, none were aware of what had happened. As we have seen, the forging of Gawain's sword was ascribed to Galand (Wieland), and the most famous example of the main incident of the adventure, the bleeding of the corpse at the approach of the slayer, is found in the *Siegfried* story; thus we have here the juxtaposition of two features characteristic of Northern tradition. The connection is worth the attention of any one interested in elucidating the influence of Scandinavian upon Arthurian tradition.

Parting from the knight he has conquered, who has sworn to be at his disposal whenever, and wherever, he may call upon him, Gawain continues his road till he comes to a house, the door of which stands invitingly open. He enters, and it closes swiftly upon him. There is no one to be seen, but in the hall a table stands ready spread. Gawain sits down to meat when an armed knight enters and challenges him. They fight, and Gawain is victorious. A maiden now appears, and prays the life of the vanquished, 'tis her fault, the 'custom' was established for love of her.

She is the maiden outraged by Gréoreas, and has persuaded her lover to leave the door of the 'manoir' open to all comers and to challenge any knight who may enter, in hope that Gréoreas may be among them, and may receive his deserts. Gawain tells her he has already been well punished, at which she is rejoiced. Twenty maidens now appear, who have been held captive ever since their attendant knights were overcome; Gawain demands their freedom, which is granted. Next morning they all depart in company, riding together till they reach the parting of three roads, when the maidens go their own way.

This episode offers no features of special interest. It is not impossible, but the probabilities are that the outraged maiden would, as in the *Parzival*, be present at the judging of her ravisher; indeed, as the maiden here says that Gawain spoke for her as being '*un petitet nicette e folle*,' it seems as if this had even here been the case. If a genuine conclusion to the 'Gréoreas' tale, it must be held to be a weak one.

We now have the visit to the Grail Castle, related in full accordance with group A.[1] The point to be noted in this particular form of the story is that it combines the features of the other two accounts, the Chrétien[2]-*Perceval*, and the Bleheris-*Gawain*. It agrees with Chrétien in its representation of the King as maimed, richly dressed, and lying on a couch in a splendid hall; in the fact that Grail and Lance are carried in procession; and that the sword is sent

[1] Cf. B. N. 12,577, fo. 73.

[2] B. N. 12,576, in describing the exterior of the castle here refers to Chrétien who '*mult loua le forteresce*.' It thus seems possible that the version may have been modified by a copyist in order to make it agree with the previous account.

by the King's niece. But it differs in the presence of the dead knight on the bier; in the fact that the sword is broken, and must be re-soldered; in the detail that the maiden who carries the Grail is weeping bitterly;[1] that the 'tailleor d'argent' is 'petit,' a trait of Manessier, not, as we have seen, of Chrétien;[2] and finally in the magic slumber which overtakes Gawain, and from which he awakes in the morning to find himself in a 'marais.'

It will thus be seen that the story presents more points of difference than of agreement with Chrétien's version; it may be that we are here dealing with an older tale worked over to make it agree superficially with the version it is supposed to be completing, or it may be that at the time the *Chastel Merveilleus* poem was composed there were already two recognised forms of the Grail story, which forms have here been combined. In favour of this latter view we may remark that the MSS. show no signs of alteration, or interpolation. The story is here always given in the same manner. This is not the case with the Bleheris-*Gawain* version, where details are frequently omitted, or abridged, and where certain texts interpolate the story of Joseph of Arimathea. I am disposed to consider this as an intermediate version, affected alike by the earlier 'Bleheris' story, to which, on the whole, it inclines, and by the source of Chrétien.[3] If the work of a copyist it has been done

[1] This detail is not in Bleheris, where the Grail is self-acting, but we find it in *Diû Crône*, and repeated in a more pronounced form in the prose *Lancelot*. Cf. on this point my *Sir Gawain at the Grail Castle* (Arthurian Romances, No. VI.), where I have devoted a note to this subject.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 170.

[3] My impression is that it is this particular version of the Grail visit which is the basis of that in *Peredur*. In this last we have the broken

once for all; which would argue in favour of the priority of the 12,576 version.

---

sword, and the Lance carried in procession, while the head would represent the body on the bier. It is quite certain that the Welsh tale was derived from a source containing the double Gawain contamination, for the Loathly Messenger announces the adventure of Chastel Orguellous the castle of five hundred and sixty-six knights (the French texts always give 'cinq cent soixante *sis*,' or 'soixante *dis*,' variants which appear to point to an oral transmission) and the adventure of *Mont Esclaire*. The words in which this latter are announced should be noted: 'and whoso would reach the summit of fame and honour I know where he may find it. There is a castle on a lofty mountain, and there is a maiden therein, and she is detained a prisoner there, and whoever shall set her free will attain the summit of the fame of the world,' and thereupon she rode away. Now the French gives:

'mes qui voudroit le pris avoir
de tout le monde je cuit savoir
le lieu et la piéce de terre
se il estoit qu'il l'alast querre [*sic*]
a une demoiselle assise
moult grant honneur auroit conquise
que le siege en pourroit oster
et la damoisele delivrer.'

It will be noted that 12,577 does not, any more than the Welsh, name the castle, but this is due to a defect in the text, l. 4 ought to run '*sor le pui de Mont Esclaire.*' All the French versions immediately add the detail that the victor may gird himself with the sword '*as estranges renges*,' not mentioned in the Welsh. It is noticeable that the two are not connected in Gerbert, and it is quite possible that they were originally separate. But it is certain that here all the texts have a common source. We have then the coming of Guigambrésil, and the adventure of Gawain with the sister of the King of Escavalon. The names unfortunately are not given in *Peredur*. It is thus beyond any reasonable doubt that the *Chastel Merveilleus* section was known to the compiler of the Welsh tale. The presence of these features appears to me a strong reason for rejecting the *Mabinogi* as an early and pure representative of the *Perceval* story. It does not, however,

At the conclusion of the Grail adventure,[1] where group A and the Dutch translation place the meeting with Disnadares, we have in B a meeting with a vavasseur, Galehas de Bonivant, who receives and lodges Gawain with great honour. He tells him that he is near to the goal of his journey, Mont Esclaire, and explains that the castle is situated on the summit of a precipitous rock, the entrance to the ascent of which is guarded by three brothers, who, having been flouted by the lady of the castle, have taken this means of punishing her. None can go up or down. Galehas offers Gawain the aid of twelve knights, which the hero naturally refuses; he then prays to be allowed to accompany him, which Gawain permits, on condition that he does not interfere in the combat. When they come in sight of the castle a horn sounds, and the three knights arm themselves. A fierce fight ensues, in the course of which Gawain slays two of the brothers, and the third yields to him. The maiden now appears, and hails Gawain as lord of her castle and land; she is niece to his host.

Gawain asks of the sword '*as estranges renges*,' she promises to lead him to it, but cannot say whether or not he can win it. They enter the garden of the castle, and come to a vault, the door of which opens at Gawain's approach; it had been closed for a hundred years. All are greatly rejoiced. On entering, Gawain finds a chamber richly adorned with silver, gold, and precious stones, and lighted by a carbuncle

follow that it is dependent on Chrétien, or, indeed, on any continental source. If the *Chastel Merveilleus* poem were, as we have seen reason to believe, of insular origin, it may well have been known to, and used by the compiler of *Peredur*, in its earlier, and independent form.

[1] B. N. 12,577, fo. 76.

which is fixed in a central pillar. On this pillar hangs the sword of his quest, with the following inscription:

'Chevalier, tu qui vas querrant
partout proesces et loenges
vez l'espee aus estranges renges
a ce pyler ici pendant,
se tu en toi te fies tant,
prendre la pues sanz contredit.'

Gawain girds on the sword, and returning to the maiden asks if she knows its history? She tells him it belonged to Judas Maccabaeus, and was brought into the land by Joseph of Arimathea; at the death of this latter he ordered it to be placed in the vault till a knight should come who would surpass all others in honour, courtesy, and chivalry. The door then closed of itself, and had remained closed ever since; many knights had attempted the venture, but had gone away bereft of their senses. None bearing the sword can be vanquished in a just battle, but if right be not on their side it will do them harm. Gawain remarks it is none the worse for that. He remains at Mont Esclaire eight days, then recalling his pledge to the King of Escavalon, and that the year's grace has almost expired, mounts and rides off, in spite of the maiden's entreaties.

There are some good points in this story, but on the whole, in its present form the adventure does not offer features of such interest as to appear to warrant the high importance attributed to it by the Grail messenger. The association with Judas Maccabaeus and Joseph of Arimathea is not what one would expect to find in the genuine and primitive form of a story connected with so early, and Celtic, a hero as Gawain. The detail that the

sword, if used in an unworthy quarrel, injures the wearer, connects it, however, with the self-acting sword, twice found in connection with this knight in *Le Chevalier à l'Epée*, and *Walewein*. Neither of these weapons is the sword '*as estranges renges*.' In the Dutch *Lancelot* the winning of the sword is placed at an earlier point in the story; here it will break if an unworthy knight handles it. In the *Queste* the sword '*as estranges renges*' has been taken over into the Grail story, and is no longer connected with Gawain, but it appears to possess self-acting properties. The name given to it, sometimes rendered 'as *estroites* renges,'[1] is nowhere satisfactorily accounted for. I think we are in all probability dealing with the remains of an old story, the true form of which has not been preserved.

After an interval of fifteen days, during which no special adventure is recorded, Gawain meets Disnadares, and the section ends in accordance with the versions of group A.[2]

What is the position which should be assigned to group B? Does it, or does it not, form a genuine part of the *Chastel Merveilleus* poem? It must be remembered that the *Mont Esclaire* adventure, which forms an important part of the section, was announced by the Grail messenger, and therefore, probably, belonged rather to the *Chastel Orguellous* than to the *Chastel Merveilleus* compilation, with the latter of which she has, in Chrétien, no

[1] This reading is found in B. N. 1450, B. M. Add. 36,614, and Edinburgh. In connection with the sword, and the *Mont Esclaire* adventure in general the romance of *Apollonius of Tyre* requires to be studied. I have, however, preferred to reserve the examination and comparison of this text for the discussion of the *Gerbert* section of the *Perceval* with which it possesses important points of contact.

[2] B. N. 2577, fo. 80. The corresponding section in Edinburgh extends from 36-55 *vo.*

connection. It is of course possible that the later poem may have taken over adventures from the earlier, and there is no doubt that certain of the incidents recorded in B do repose upon a genuine *Gawain* tradition. At the same time, from the point of view of literary criticism, it must be admitted that there is nothing in this section which betrays the hand of so skilful a writer as the author of the 'Confession' and 'Lamentation' quoted in the preceding chapter.

Of the two MSS. forming group B, one, Edinburgh, is among the earliest of the *Perceval* texts; the writing is of the same period as that of B. N. 12,576 (on the whole our most reliable version), thus the adventures related must have been admitted into the *Perceval* compilation at a comparatively early date. The section thus stands on a different footing than when it was supposed to be confined to so late a text as B. N. 12,577. It seems to me decidedly worthy of careful study, but I am not of opinion that it forms a part of the original *Chastel Merveilleus*.

At this point, having arrived at the end of Chrétien's poem, it will be well to recapitulate the evidence, and to state succinctly what appears, on investigation, to be the real truth as to the sources he employed, and the position he occupied, in the development of the *Perceval* story.

We saw that the legend, starting from what may, primarily, have been a mythic, and certainly was a folk-lore, basis, passed through at least two subsequent stages of literary evolution, the Chivalric and the Ascetic. The vitality of the original theme caused, fortunately for modern criticism, the, at least partial, survival of the earlier stages of the evolutionary process; and although the result, superficially, has been to complicate and confuse the

extant versions, the evidence thus preserved is of inestimable value in determining the growth of the story.

It appears certain that by the time Chrétien wrote, the legend had definitely emerged from the folk-tale stage, and had already been enshrined in poems of considerable extent, and literary value. Chrétien's own statement that it was the best tale told in royal court, and that his source was a book, is definite evidence on this side. We have also the *Bliocadrans* Prologue, the genesis of which, unless it represent the ultimate source alike of the French and the German *Perceval*, cannot be satisfactorily explained. The contradictions with Chrétien's poem are too radical for any theory of its after composition as introduction to that work to be upheld, while at the same time it might very well have been inserted by a copyist, not over careful as to the unities, to supplement the deficiencies of Chrétien's opening section. A biographical romance—and such we must consider the *Perceval*—demands as a rule certain details as to the circumstances of the hero's birth and parentage.

And if the discrepancies between the *Bliocadrans* fragment and Chrétien forbid us to hold that it was composed as an introduction to the *Perceval*, the even more striking harmony with the work of Wolfram von Eschenbach demands that we recognise some connection between it and the *Parzival*. The acknowledgment that both poems, French and German, derive ultimately from a common source, and that of that source we have here a precious fragment, appears to meet all conditions of the problem. There are again details in the subsequent presentment of the hero's adventures which indicate the existence of another, and even more popular, form of the story than

that followed by Chrétien. Such *e.g.* is the existence of a sister, a trait witnessed to by the majority of the versions. In this connection we found the passage peculiar to B. N. 794 and B. M. Add. 36,614 to be suggestive.

Again, it is certain that the story of the Grail, here closely connected with that of Perceval, had reached an advanced point of evolution before Chrétien's day. The fact that a story, identical in all respects, save name, with the Grail *Early History*, was known at Fescamp upwards of one hundred years before Chrétien wrote, that the *Perceval* MSS. refer to the book written at Fescamp as a source, and that the poem which shows the closest parallels with Chrétien adds to the Grail procession the relics peculiar to Fescamp, the knives, all go to prove that, whatever the original character of the talisman, it had, before the French poet laid hand to the story, become identified with a *Saint Sang* tradition. Chrétien no more invented the Grail legend, as we know it, than he invented Perceval as a popular hero. The two stories had developed and combined before his day.

Again, the *Gawain* adventures which have been claimed as Chrétien's addition to the *Perceval* story, show, on close examination, every sign of having been taken over from another and independent poem, the central theme of which, the winning of a magic castle situated in Galloway, appears to be derived from a pseudo-historical tradition, a century older than Chrétien.

M. Wilmotte's study on the evolution of the French romantic literature[1] has shown clearly that Chrétien was not above borrowing phrases, lines, and entire passages

[1] *L'Évolution du Roman français aux environs de 1150.* Paris, 1903.

from earlier poems. I would submit that the evidence collected in the previous pages goes to prove that among the poems drawn upon were some dealing with Arthurian tradition. There were Arthurian romances before Chrétien, not merely '*lais*,' the stock-in-trade of the wandering minstrel, but works more ambitious in design and structure and more distinctly literary in form. Moreover we find strong ground for believing that at least the stories relating to Gawain depended upon insular tradition, and were drawn from insular sources; in the next section of our investigation we shall find clear and categorical proof that this was the case.

Chrétien de Troyes undoubtedly enjoyed very influential patronage, whether, apart from that patronage, his work was so superior, either in matter or form, to that of his contemporaries as in itself to justify the position assigned to him is another question. Certain of the passages quoted in the previous chapter, with others to be met with later on—the Bleheris *Gawain-Grail* visit for example —are as good as anything Chrétien ever wrote, and he certainly never approached in human or dramatic interest, the description of the fight between Gawain and Brandelis, with the interposition of the mother and child.

The truth is that Chrétien stands at a late point in the evolution of the Arthurian story, when the themes presented had lost their freshness, and the skill with which the story was told was beginning to count for almost as much as the story itself. He is graceful, even subtle, in his delineation of mental processes, but he is far removed from the primeval fire, the direct dramatic simplicity, which, as a rule, mark the early stages of a great romantic cycle. The Arthurian story, as conceived by Chrétien,

could never have taken undying hold of the hearts of the children of men. A primitive folk is a dramatic folk, they see things in concrete form; the childhood of a people, as of an individual, is more directly responsive to object lessons; it is not what is *thought*, but what is *achieved* which appeals to them; and the direct swiftness of dramatic action which marks the early Scandinavian, and early Irish epic, and is found in certain of the tales told by Wauchier, is very far from the method of Chrétien. Whether he really wrote a *Tristan* or not we cannot now say; if he did, I suspect the world is but little the poorer for its loss; the vigour, the virility, the absolute human truthfulness of that wonderful love story were all utterly beyond his grasp.

Chrétien was a court poet, with the qualifications and the limitations of his calling, He had no need to seek after original material; he might have said, probably did in effect say, *Je prends mon bien où je le trouve.* What he had to do was to repeat oft-told tales in graceful language, with due regard to the conventions of his day. He did that work admirably well; it is not to be laid to his blame that a mistaken criticism has claimed for him an impossible degree of eminence, and thereby necessitated an apparent lowering of his literary status, as the inevitable result of the honest endeavour to ascertain and place him in his rightful position in the history of the gradual evolution of the Arthurian romantic cycle.

CHAPTER IX

CHASTEL ORGUELLOUS

We must now retrace our steps, and take up the thread at the point of the arrival of the Grail messenger, and the announcement made by her of the adventures to be achieved by Arthur's knights. I have essayed to show that the original series of feats, of which Gawain was undoubtedly the chief hero, had, before Chrétien's day, been displaced in favour of a later compilation equally devoted to his honour, and that if we would understand the problems, now sufficiently intricate, presented by the composite text, we must distinguish very clearly between the two groups.

In their present form the two castles are radically distinct from each other. Chastel Orguellous, from first to last, is represented as a stronghold antagonistic to Arthur; it was built and manned against him, and any knight of his who may present himself before its walls is certain of finding an adversary. The knights of the castle are always ready to joust, and each has his 'amie' in whose honour the joust may be ridden. The lord of the castle does not always bear the same name, but he is pre-eminent in valour, strength, and beauty. The Chastel Orguellous story is a purely natural chivalric recital, with

no touch of Other-world glamour about it, no enchantment to be broken, no special danger to be overcome.

Chastel Merveilleus, on the other hand, is, in its present form, decidedly an 'Other-world' story: the knights of the castle vary in age, a certain number are not knighted, but await the coming of the lord of the castle, who shall confer the order upon them. They do not ride forth to joust, nor do they appear to consort in any way with the ladies within its walls. Both knights and ladies appear to be held captive by some mysterious power, which should operate even on the victor. Nor is there any opposition to Arthur or his knights; or any lord of the castle previous to Gawain's coming. In Chrétien it appears to belong to the old queen; in the *Parzival* the owner is the weaver of the enchantments, Klingsor, who is prepared to yield it as a prize to any who shall break its spell. The two castles have, so far, not a point in common.

Considering them then as representative of two distinct story groups, we have traced, so far as the texts permit, the progress and conclusion of the *Chastel Merveilleus* story, and we have found reason to believe that it represents a poem of considerable extent and literary merit, which, from the style of composition, can hardly be much earlier than Chrétien. Further, there is no indication of source or authorship.

The composition of the *Chastel Orguellous* group is radically different. It represents a collection of practically independent tales, the sole connecting link being the personality of the dominant hero, Gawain, and abounds in references to the extent and importance of the compilation of which these tales originally formed a part, with more than one allusion to the author.

The peculiarities of the Mons text, which from first to last has systematically excluded, or deliberately altered, any passage which could conflict with the view this special copyist was desirous of enforcing — that of the homogeneous authorship of the work — has resulted in completely obscuring the character of this section of the *Perceval*. But for the unhappy choice of text made by M. Potvin, scholars must long ere this have detected the enormous value for critical purposes of the 'Wauchier' continuation, and the strength of the argument for an insular origin of the Arthurian poems which may be drawn from it.

By reason of the nature and extent of the material involved, the studies here offered can be no more than a preliminary opening up of the ground, an examination of the primary features and characteristics peculiar to this section; unless I am much mistaken it will be long before the possibilities of the subject will be exhausted.

The material for study appears to group itself conveniently under three heads: the tales themselves, their relation to other texts, their reputed authorship. I propose to take each of these points in order.

It may be well to recall here that between the conclusion of *Chastel Merveilleus* and the return to the original thread of *Chastel Orguellous*, two sections intervene, that dealing with Brun de Branlant, and that dealing with Carados. The two together extend from line 11,596 to 15,795 of M. Potvin's edition; in some texts they cover more ground. These sections we will for the moment leave on one side; their significance will become apparent when we have studied the *Chastel Orguellous* story.

This section begins with line 15,795, and continues to

deal with the adventures of Gawain and his kin to line 21,917, where the story of Perceval is taken up again, ostensibly at the point where it was left, *i.e.* after the visit to the Hermit. This thread is followed to line 31,520, when the story returns to Gawain. But, and this is important, the character of these later *Gawain* adventures is precisely the same as that of the earlier section; also the authority referred to in both is the same. Thus, I think, we are justified in assuming that there has been no change of writer or of source, but that Wauchier was here using a collection of poems relating to Gawain, into which adventures of Perceval had later been interpolated.

Thus the relative position of the section due to Chrétien, and that due to Wauchier, differs fundamentally. In the first case we are dealing with a *Perceval* poem into which a *Gawain* poem has been introduced; in the second we are at a much earlier stage. Wauchier was not drawing from one long, literary poem, but from a collection of short, episodic poems, which in its original form was devoted exclusively to the feats of Gawain and his kin. In its later form—that in which Wauchier knew it—adventures of Perceval, of much the same episodic character, had been introduced. Chrétien's poem, by the announcement of the Grail messenger, bears witness to this earlier compilation. The main point to be borne in mind is that although Wauchier wrote later than Chrétien the sources followed by him were earlier.

Let us also remember that at the first announcement of the adventure of Chastel Orguellous, Giflet fis Do declares his intention of proceeding thither.

The section opens with the account of how Arthur and his knights are hunting in the forest. On their return the

King rides by himself, silent and pensive. Gawain rallies him on his low spirits, and Arthur explains that he was thinking 'twas over long since he held high court, and summoned all his nobles. Gawain says 'tis a good thought, and advises that the court be held at Carnavent (Caernarvon ?[1]), which is explained as being 'en la marche de Gales et de la terre de Bretagne.' The knights come from far and near. As they sit at meat Arthur's glance falls upon a vacant seat at the Round Table, and he sinks into a melancholy reverie. He is holding a knife, and running his hand carelessly down the blade, he wounds himself, but wraps a napkin round his hand to conceal the hurt. Gawain asks him what is wrong, and he answers that he has been thinking of his, Gawain's, concealed villainy and wrongdoing. All are dismayed. The King repeats the accusation of treason, saying he includes Ywain and all the others. Gawain again urges an explanation, and Arthur then recalls to their minds how aforetime there was a folk in that land

> 'qui fisent castiaus et chités
> tours et viles et fremetés
> et le grans Castiaus Orguellos
> çou fisent ils encontre nos.'[2]

'Twas not with his will that any of them had gone thither, and now for three years past one of their best, Giflet fis Do, had been a prisoner within its walls. They are traitors to their vow of brotherhood in having so long delayed his rescue. The knights at once admit that Arthur is right, and are eager to set forth. King Urien

[1] Sometimes Carduel.

[2] Cf. Potvin, ll. 16,179-82.

points out that this is a case in which valour counts for more than numbers, and advises Arthur to take no more than fifteen of his best, to each of whom he shall give a pennon of silk. Arthur accepts this advice, and sets out with the fifteen chosen.[1]

The first adventure recorded is that of 'Kay and the Spit,' where, seeking for food, the seneschal comes to a house, where a peacock is being roasted by a dwarf, and indignant at the latter's discourtesy, punishes him severely, in return for which he is struck on the neck with the spit by the lord of the 'manoir,' who when Gawain appears and

[1] Of this introduction there are two distinct variants. I have followed the version represented by B. N. 12,576, as it seems to be the more primitive. In the other version Gawain does not appeal directly to the King, but sends a squire. Arthur returns no answer, but quitting the hall, locks himself into his 'loge.' The knights, in an uproar of indignation, follow, but are refused entry. Gawain says he is not in the habit of being denied the King's presence, and breaks down the door. All crowd in, 'le Laid Hardi' first, demanding an immediate explanation, which is finally given in the same terms. Now inasmuch as Arthur's intention is not to insult his knights, but to stir them up to action, the simpler version of the story, where Gawain makes a direct appeal, and receives a direct answer, seems to me preferable. Also the fact that in the version given in the text Ywain is specially coupled with Gawain. Ywain, who is mentioned in the *Brut*, is certainly one of the primitive Arthurian heroes, and a version which gives prominence to him is, *prima facie*, likely to be the older of the two. The grouping of the texts is here somewhat different. Edinburgh, Montpellier, and B. N. 1429, agree with B. N. 12,576, instead of with B. N. 12,577, while B. N. 794, B. N. 1453, and Mons, agree with this last. Thus, with the exception of B. N. 12,577, it will be seen that the MSS. of the shorter redaction give, as a rule, the longer version. The list of names also deserves study; it varies in different texts: B. N. 12,576 gives, as ninth on the list, Lancelot du Lac, the first time he is mentioned in the *Perceval*, but his inclusion among the chosen knights is by no means invariable.

begs for food and lodging, receives and entertains them courteously.

Here we have the first indication of the length of the original source, for all the copyists, even Mons, remark:

> 'desor est li romans trop lons
> mais je le vos voel abreger.'[1]

Arthur and his knights then come to the 'Vergier des Sepoltures,' or 'des aventures':

> 'ou l'en les trouvoit souvent dures ;
> la mengierent od les renclus
> dont il i avoit .C. et plus
> ne me l'oïst or pas chi dire
> les merveilles del chimétire
> car si sont diverses et grans
> qu'il n'est hom terriens vivans
> qui poist pas quidier ne croir
> que ce fust onques chose voire.'[2]

But he will not tell the story, as too long, till it shall be 'lieu e temps.' It would appear from this that the original source contained a 'Cimetiére Perilleuse' story.

The next section[3] is taken up with the adventures at the castle of Brandelis, Gawain's account of his relations with his sister, the fight, the appearance of the lady and her son, and the final reconciliation; all this is most admirably told, and is quite one of the best parts of the '*Perceval*.'

At the conclusion of this adventure two MSS., and two only—Edinburgh and B. M. Add. 36,614—give a passage worth recording:

[1] Potvin, ll. 16,626-7.
[2] B. N. 12,576, fo. 74 *vo.*
[3] Potvin, 16,660-18,239.

'Seigneurs randez pour Dieu le droit
volantiers que cist romanz doit,
certes si feroiz que cortois
dites por l'ame au Loenois
une paternostre trestuit
que li conte ne vos anuit
e por tos les feus defuns
moult la doit bien dire chascuns.'[1]

It then continues: 'Seigneurs ensi com je vous di.' Throughout the whole of this section of Wauchier's poem the constant appeals to an audience are most noticeable; Chrétien has nothing of this, nor is it found in the *Chastel Merveilleus* section, nor in Manessier.

We next have the winning of Chastel Orguellous, and the freeing of Giflet, the details of which we shall find are of importance. The lord of the castle is 'le Riche Soudoier'; he is possessed of great personal beauty, and is almost a giant in stature. In that land the Mother of God was honoured more than elsewhere, Saturday was held sacred to her, and from tierce on that day to Monday no jousts were ridden. Gawain, hunting in the forest during this interval, comes upon the 'Riche Soudoier' plunged in a love-trance, caused by the delay of his 'amie' to keep a rendezvous, and is on the point of carrying him off, by main force, to Arthur, when he discovers the cause of his incomprehensible behaviour. A series of jousts are ridden, as the result of which Lucains the butler is taken prisoner,

[1] Edinburgh, 117 *vo.* B. M. Add. 36,614 gives 'Lodonois.' Who is the 'Loenois' or Lodonois? M. Ferd. Lot in his '*Études sur la provenance du cycle Arthurien*,' *Romania*, vol. xxv. p. 17, identifies the country of that name with Lothian; as we shall see later on, we have, apparently, another reference to this personage,

and joins Giflet, who is distressed at hearing the changes which have taken place in the Round Table in these last years. Kay is tricked into passing the four olive-trees, which form the boundary of the field, and held for vanquished; but Brandelis (who here acts as a sort of Greek chorus, explaining the customs of the castle to Arthur) and Ywain are victorious. Finally they hear that the lord of the castle will himself joust on the morrow, and Gawain demands permission to face him, which Arthur unwillingly grants.

The arming of the Riche Soudoier appears to partake of the nature of a solemn ceremony, a horn being sounded at each separate stage, when he buckles on his spurs, when he laces his greaves, dons his hauberk and helmet, while a ringing blast, which makes the halls re-echo, announces that he has mounted his charger, and is about to ride forth. This arming of the Riche Soudoier is an excellent passage in itself, and, we shall see later, of importance from a critical point of view.

The fight between the lord of Chastel Orguellous and Gawain (who is here armed with Excalibur) is long and fierce. Finally the latter, thanks to the miraculous increase in his strength, is victorious; but the Riche Soudoier refuses to yield, preferring to die as his 'amie' will never recover the shame of his defeat. He appeals to Gawain's well-known courtesy, entreating him to make feint of being overcome, and to go with him to Chastel Orguellous, there to yield to the lady. Gawain consents, and, the comedy having been successfully played, the maiden is sent off to another castle there to await her lover, while he with the released prisoners, Giflet and Lucains, accompanies Gawain to the camp. Arthur, who has been

overcome with grief at his nephew's supposed discomfiture, is rejoiced at learning the truth, and at having won so important a victory.

'ainz mes li rois tant ne conquist
si come Bleheris nos dist.'[1]

Thus we find that the central adventure of this group of stories, and one which, from the references to the Chastel Orguellous, appears to have been considered as highly important, is ascribed to Bleheris.

I have given this story in some detail, as we shall require to refer to certain points later on.

The whole company then return to the castle of Brandelis, where they find confusion and dismay, Gawain's son has been stolen; the child had gone out to play with others, and had been kidnapped by passing folk. Gawain announces brusquely that he knows nothing of looking for children, and will leave that task to the uncles, Arthur, and Brandelis. This statement, taken in connection with the fact that later on, when Gawain meets, and unwittingly fights with, his son, the lad, asked his name, answers that he was always known as '*fis son oncle*,' appears to afford an interesting indication of the social 'milieu' in which the story assumed its present form.

Gawain, Kay, and Giflet therefore return to court, taking with them the lady of Lys; and an amusing account is given of the manner in which the ladies of the court deck themselves for the reception of so renowned a beauty,

[1] B. N. 794, fo. 419 *vo*. B. N. 1453 gives Bleobleheris, and B. M. Add. 36,614, Bliobliheri. Mons replaces the name by that of Brandelis, an ingenious substitution, as the latter has played an important rôle in the story. Otherwise the text agrees with that of B. M.

each appealing to the other to know if her efforts have been successful. The writer concludes the episode by invoking judgment on all who shall relate the incident in other fashion:

'si vous raconte pour voir et dit
tout si com vus avez oï
vint l'amie al buen chevalier
a cort, ce poez tesmoignier
a ciaus qui par faus jugement
pruevent qu'elle i vint autrement.
e Dex honte lor entramete
qu'ensi i vint Guinelorete.'[1]

The name is also given as Guilorete. Mons has Gloriete. The passage above quoted seems to indicate that more than one version of the story was current.

After this follows the account of Gawain's Grail[2] adventure, undertaken on behalf of the unknown knight, who is slain in his safe-conduct. At the moment of Gawain's departure the MSS. of group C insert a passage to which I drew attention in the *Romania*:

'lors s'en va Mesire Gauvains;
Cil remest mort entre ses mains.
A ces parolles doit chascuns
dire patrenostre aus defuns,
Puis nous ferez le vin donner;
Tant m'orrez dire e conter.
Seingneurs, la branche se depart
Du grant conte, se Dieu me gart.

[1] Cf. B. N., Nouv. Acq. 6614, 69 *vo.*, which agrees with B. N. 12,576, Potvin, l. 19,625.

[2] Potvin, ll. 19,913-20,400.

Des or orrez coment il fu
De ce qu'avez tant atendu :
Cil de Loudon racontera
Que ce riche romans dira.'[1]

This passage is especially interesting, taken in connection with that previously quoted. Is '*cil de Loudon*' or '*Lodoun*' the same as the '*Lodonois*' for whose soul the prayers of the hearers have been asked? If so it would seem as if he had been the original owner of the MS. used by Wauchier, and that after his death the minstrel into whose hands it fell commemorated him in a passage imitating that in which he had referred to the slain knight.

At the conclusion of the Grail adventure the narrator gives us to understand that Gawain wanders long, through many lands, achieving many warlike feats; but here he will not narrate them in detail; nor will he tell of the knight slain at the Queen's tent, who he was, and whence he came; nor of the early years of Gawain's son, how he was brought up, and knighted, nor who told him to cherish his arms and his steed. Nor will he tell of the maiden who found him by the wayside, and made him of her household nor of the naïve speeches he made, '*nicétés qu'il disoit*,' nor of the tales he told, but will relate a part of his first battle, '*envahie*.'

Now this, of course, presupposes a gap of some years in the chronology. Gawain's son is a child of between four and five years old when he is lost; if he be old enough for

[1] B. N. 12,577, fo. 133. Edinburgh is, unfortunately, defective here, a lacuna extending from the conclusion of the '*Carados*' section, to the final passages of the adventures of Garahies, and the Dead Knight in the Boat. B. M. Add. 36,614, which has retained the references to source, includes this passage, giving the name in the last line but one as Lodun.

warlike feats, we must, I think, at least consider him as old as Perceval at the time of his entry into the world, *i.e.* fifteen; but there is no sign in the rest of the story of such an interval having occurred. The fact is that we are here dealing with a collection of isolated tales, connected merely by the personality of Gawain, but otherwise possessing no link of sequence or time, which have been incorporated in a poem marked by both; the result being that all this section of the *Perceval* now defies chronological arrangement.

So here we have the account of the lad's first fight, his vain attempts to shake life into his slain foe (a proceeding worthy of Perceval!), his dismay at the damage done to his shield, and finally how he wins another of gold and ivory, at '*les noces du roi Brandeval.*' Then follows a summary of his adventures, none of which, however, agree with any recorded of the hero Guinglain:

'ne puis or mie tesmoignier (*i.e.* of the shield.)
ne l'abatement du planchier,
com il tailla desus le pont
ceus qui furent monté amont.
Ne le hardement des degrés
qu'il fist puis qu'il fu desarmez,
dont li pueples se merveilla
e li rois quant il l'esgarda.
Car mult fu joennes cist aages.
En la chambre com homs sauvages
se pourfichoit, qu'il ert trop biaus,
iluec fu nomez li oisiaus.'[1]

These three last lines are distinctly enigmatic; some of the texts instead of '*li oisiax*' give '*lionaux*,' which has led certain critics of the poem to assert that the earlier

[1] B. N. 12,577, 138 *vo.*

section of the 'Wauchier' continuation calls Gawain's son Lionel. I do not think that this is really the case; the MSS. which give the second reading do, immediately afterwards, refer to the lad as *Lionaux*, but only do so twice, *i.e.* in the lines describing how he keeps the ford previous to Gawain's arrival on the scene. After the combat between father and son, when the former asks his name, the boy answers, as elsewhere, that he does not know it, having never been called by any other title than '*le neveu son oncle.*' The introduction of the proper name appears to be dependent on the reading of the previous passage. I incline to think that the above version, which is also that of B. N. 12,576, is the correct one, and that we are here dealing with a story of the 'Yonec' type, where the lover enters the chamber of his 'amie' in the form of a bird.[1]

We are then told how he kept a ford, and fought with an unknown knight, who proved to be none other than his father, and how the two together return to Arthur's court. On their arrival the boy is committed to Ywain's care, that he may be instructed in arms and knightly accomplishments. Now this hardly agrees with the previous statements of the poet, for he has told us that he will not, at that point, say:

> 'qui cil fu qui l'adouba
> ne comment il li ensaigna
> sor tote rien a tenir chier
> e ses armes e son destrier.'[2]

[1] Is it possible that Yonet, who so often appears as Gawain's squire, was, in earlier versions, his son? Mons gives the name as Yoniaus.

[2] B. N. 12,576, fo. 91. All this section occupies ll. 20,400-792 of Potvin's edition.

Nor does the fact that he makes his first appearance at court in company with his father agree with his own statement, later on, that Arthur had named him '*li Biaus Desconéus*.' The tradition as to Gawain's son is here distinctly confused.

On their arrival at court, as they are seated in the hall, there occurs a curious episode, related in all the MSS., but the *dénouement* of which is nowhere given :

'un hom qui n'ert pas conéus
est en la sale entrax venus,
les armes prent, et le destrier,
si s'en torna sanz atargier
que onques nus ne l'aperçoit.
Mais Mesire Gauvain le voit,
qui mult grant ire au cuer en a
del bon destrier mult li pesa,
qu'il ne la viaus od l'arméure.
E cil s'en va tele aléure
c'ainc ne sot que cil devint,
n'ou ala, ne quelle voie tint.' [1]

In the original source this incident must surely have found some completion and meaning.

At this point we have a distinct break in the story, noted in differing words. B. N. 12,576 says :

'Seigneurs, se Damediex me saut,
li contes de l'escu chi faut ;
si commence cil del calan
qui arriva en Glomorgan,' [2]

With which the edition of 1530 agrees.

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 92. Mons differs slightly. Cf. Potvin, ll. 20,792-804.

[2] B. N. 12,576, fo. 93. Cf. also my notes on the subject, *Romania*, vol. xxxiii. p. 333.

But let us note that Gawain and his son have returned. not to Glamorgan, but to Carlion, consequently if the events took place on the night of their arrival, as here stated, the boat must, in the first instance, have come to Carlion, as we find in B. N. 794; but in almost every case the final scene of the adventure, and the return of the swan with Guerrehes, or Garahies, is placed at Glamorgan. It seems clear that we are here dealing with an independent story, inserted in a frame-work originally foreign to it.

Group C, and the British Museum text, instead of naming the adventure, here give a much longer passage, dealing with the extensive character of the source from which they are drawn, and of which they will now give another branch:

'Li grans conte cange entresait,
a une autre branche se trait,
que vous m'orrez sans demorer
tout mot a mot dire et conter.
Chascuns de vous cuide savoir
del grant conte trestout le voir,
mais nel set pas, se Dex me gart.
tot en ordre par grant esgart
coment la chose deviser.
ja ne m'en orrois ains parler
s'en ordre non, et a droit point,
ensi com li contes s'ajoint.'[1]

The story that follows is the adventure of Guerrehes,[2] or Garahies, the name is given in varying forms, and the Dead

[1] B. N. 12,577, fo. 140 *vo.* B. N. 1429 for l. 8 gives 'la quarte part.'

[2] In my studies on the '*Lancelot*,' I expressed an opinion that these two were really originally one and the same, and that the fact that

Knight in the boat, who can only be avenged by him who withdraws the shaft of the spear from the fatal wound. This adventure extends to l. 21,917, where the Perceval story is again taken up.

For the moment we will leave on one side the discussion of this section, and complete our survey of the *Gawain* portion; this is resumed at l. 31,520, where, on the departure of the knights to seek for Perceval, the poet announces his intention of telling the adventures of Gawain:

> 'Mais de Gauvain vos voil parler
> si que l'estoire nos an conte
> or escoutez avant le conte

King Lot was traditionally supposed to have four sons, while Mordred was reckoned now as his son, now as son of Arthur, led to the duplication of the third and less important brother. Subsequent studies in the '*Perceval*' have strengthened this view. The copyists here use the forms indiscriminately, but there is never a trace of a second personality attached to them. B. N. 12,577, in relating this adventure, gives the name of the hero as Guahries, which seems to combine both forms. I have been much struck, in reading the more detailed versions of this adventure, by the constantly recurring formula of objurgation addressed to the unfortunate hero: '*dehait ait li vostre biau cors*': '*vostre biaus cors ait vil dèhes.*' In the *Parzival* we find that Gawain has a brother Beaucorps, whose identity has never been satisfactorily established. This story may give us a clue. An interesting question is also the connection of the opening adventure of the *Vengeance de Raguidel*. The latest commentators, *e.g.* Professor Kaluza, in '*Festgabe für Gustav Gröber*,' hold that the poem in its present form is compound, being partly the working over of an older version. I have noted that in the present adventure, when Gawain returns to court he inquires for his brother, Guerrehes, or Garahies, and Idier fis Nu. This latter is not often mentioned in the *Perceval*, but he plays a part in the *Vengeance de Raguidel*; and the mention of his name, at the introduction of the corresponding section of the *Perceval*, is, at least, suggestive. The connection of these two texts is worth study.

qui mult fait bien a escouter,
que por l estoire consomer
fait l'an le conte durer tant.
Assez i avroit plus que tant
que [qui ?] tot vorroit an rime metre :
mais li miaudres est en la letre
e miaudres vient adés avant
que li contes vet amandant.'[1]

There then follows, at considerable length, the adventure of the magic shield, which no knight can carry successfully through two jousts unless his lady be true to him. The shield is guarded by a dwarf knight, of great valour, and personal beauty, and in describing him B. M. Add. 36,614 gives the important passage, found nowhere else, in which Wauchier refers to Bleheris as his authority, and states his nationality :

'deviser vos voel sa faiture
si com le conte Bleheris
qui fu nés e engenuis
en Gales dont je cont le conte,
e qui si le contoit au conte
de Poitiers qui amoit l'estoire
e le tenoit en grant memoire
plus que nul autre ne faisoit.'[2]

We have thus quoted, as authority for the concluding section of the *Gawain* adventures, the same name as was given in connection with the central episode of *Chastel Orguellous*.

After the conclusion of this story, which is related at considerable length, Gawain meets with a knight, plunged

[1] Edinburgh, fo. 190 *vo.*, also Potvin, ll. 31,520-30. These are the only MSS. which give the passage.

[2] B. M. Add. 36,614, fo. 241 *vo.*

in meditation, 'le Pensis Chevalier de la forest a la Pucelle.' His 'amie' has been carried off by another knight; Gawain undertakes to recover her, pursues and defeats the abductor, and restores the lady to her pensive lover, who seems quite incapable of making any effort on his own behalf.

He then meets his son, who gives his name as Guiglains:

> 'vostre fis, qui li roi Artus
> mist non, "*Li Biax Desconéus.*"'[1]

This, it will be seen, agrees with the English form of the story, in giving the title as '*Desconéus*' instead of '*Inconnu*,' and in the fact that it is Arthur who gives him the name.

The lad is seeking his father; Arthur is sore put to it to withstand King Carras of Recesse, and his brother, Claudas de la Deserte, and desires Gawain's aid. Gawain at once responds to the summons, and by his valour and wisdom, the war is brought to an honourable conclusion. The section ends:

> 'Ensi remest od lui [*i.e.* Arthur] Gauvains
> dont li contes ne plus ne mains
> ne conte mais a cest fois,'[2]

and returns to Perceval.

Now in this summary of the *Gawain* adventures certain points must strike the most casual reader. First of all, the very disconnected character of the stories; there is no logical, much less inevitable, sequence in the tales.

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 146 *vo.*

[2] Potvin, ll. 33,751-3. I am of opinion that we shall find, eventually, that the personality of Claudas de la Deserte belongs to quite an early stage of Arthurian romance, the original *Lancelot* story, ended, I believe, with the war against this monarch. It is a point well worth investigation.

If the relative position of the stories were altered, *e.g.* if Gawain visited the Grail Castle before he won the Chastel Orguellous, or after he achieved the adventure of the shield, the story would be no whit less interesting, or more effective. It is clear that we are dealing with a MS. of very different character from that used in the *Chastel Merveilleus* section; it is not one story, which must, we feel, end in one particular way, but a collection of independent episodic poems, connected only by the personality of the hero. Secondly, the collection from which they were drawn must have been of a very extensive character, judging from the reference to the '*grant conte*,' and the fragments of incomplete, and unexplained adventures which are to be found in it. The fact that both the earlier *Chastel Orguellous* section, and the later, the story of the shield, refer to the same authority, Bleheris, points to the conclusion, to which indeed the character of the stories would lead us, that the whole is drawn from the same source.

It seems most probable that this later story of the magic shield, which is said to have been the favourite tale of a certain Count of Poitiers, is really the story of the shield, '*conte de l'escu*,' referred to at an earlier point, and has been transferred in consequence of the introduction, at that point, of a minor cycle devoted to the deeds of Gawain's son.

My view of the problem then is, that we are here dealing with fragments of a very old collection of Arthurian tales, of which Gawain was the hero, and which, in its primitive form, was most probably concerned exclusively with him. Later on adventures of his kin were admitted into the collection, the feats of his son, and brother; and eventually the growing popularity of Perceval caused tales

connected also with that hero to be included. It was in this later form that the compilation came into Wauchier's hands, and was used by him.

It seems most probable, judging from the frequent appeals to an audience, and the turns of phrase, which seem to point to an oral recital, that the MS. originally belonged, or had been copied from one belonging, to a professional minstrel or jongleur, and had been handed on from one such minstrel to another; hence the allusions noted above. The stories have certainly passed through various stages. This is especially noticeable in the allusions to Gawain's son; the compiler evidently knew a number of adventures ascribed to this hero of which we have now no trace and which do not appear to agree in any way with the feats usually connected with his name, while the later allusions do show points of agreement with the extant tales. I incline to think that the introduction of the *Perceval* story into the Arthurian cycle has influenced this particular tale, the point of contact being the similarity in the boyhood of the two heroes—each of whom is in ignorance of his race and name—and that we now only know the *Guinglain* story in the form moulded by the *Perceval*.

The whole section is undoubtedly beset with difficulties, but I think the theory here suggested will be found, if carefully studied, to meet the conditions of the problem more fully than any yet proposed.

CHAPTER X

THE 'PERCEVAL' ADVENTURES

THE adventures attributed to Perceval in this section of the work appear to fall naturally into three groups: those which formed part of the primitive tradition, and might, not improbably, have been included in the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation; those which would be drawn from a *Perceval-Grail* romance, whether the source of Chrétien or another; and lastly, those the *provenance* of which we cannot definitely determine, but which may have been added by Wauchier himself.

The character of these adventures would be different; we might expect to find in the first group stories of the same type as those told of Gawain, *i.e.* adventures that might well form the subject of independent episodic poems, or *lais*; stories belonging to the second and third groups, on the contrary, we might expect to find more chivalric in tone, and less independent of the main thread of the narrative. It is difficult, indeed practically impossible, in researches of this kind, to lay down a hard and fast line of demarcation, but on the whole we shall, I think, find that the adventures conform broadly to this grouping.

In chapter iv. I have already discussed at considerable length the adventure of the stag-hunt, and shown the probability that this story belongs to the earliest stratum of *Perceval* tradition, and that its presence in a *Perceval-Grail* quest seriously dislocates the march of events. An examination of the adventures as a whole only tends to confirm this impression.

The section begins with l. 21,917 of M. Potvin's edition. We are told how after Perceval left the Hermit he met with

> '. . . mainte aventure
> qui ne sont pas en l'escripture.'[1]

The first recorded incident is that of the huntsman, who reproaches the hero with his failure at the Grail Castle: this is found in the majority of the MSS., three alone omitting it.[2] There is, however, nothing of especial interest in the episode; but as it presupposes, and depends upon, the previous visit to the Grail Castle, it must belong to the second, rather than to the first, group. The next adventure, that at the castle of the horn, where Perceval overthrows the *roi d'Irlande et des Irois* or *des Norrois*, as

[1] The beginning of this section differs a good deal. B. N. 12,576 gives the version above, saying that Perceval stays till Tuesday with the Hermit. B. N. 12,577, B. N. 794, and the majority of the texts, make no mention of the Hermit. Edinburgh begins exactly as the 'Good Friday' incident in Chrétien for twenty-four lines, then says having told it all before will not repeat. Berne 113, as is well known, begins here, opening with a short and somewhat vague introduction, which makes no allusion to the Hermit.

[2] B. N. 12,576, Edinburgh, and Mons. B. N. Nouv. Acq. 6614 has a lacuna here.

it is also given, is in all the texts, but presents no feature of especial interest.[1]

This is not the case with the succeeding adventure,[2] which is well worth study. Perceval comes to a river, and recognises that on the further shore lies the castle of the Fisher King. He rides along the bank, seeking a crossing, and finds a ruined castle, described in some texts with considerable wealth of detail. In an inner court he meets a maiden, who offers to convey him across the river, and mounting a mule, leads him to the bank, where he finds a boat in readiness. As he is about to step into it, he is warned by the ferryman and his passengers, from the further side, that the maiden purposes to drown him; he refuses to enter, and she incontinently vanishes. In most of the versions the people who warn him are returning from the court, or 'noces,' of King Brandigan, where they have seen great marvels. This is a very picturesque story, especially in the version given by B. M. Add. 36,614, and I think probably belonged to an early group of tales. The treacherous maiden is certainly no mere mortal. Commentators have generally treated the episode as an attempt to hinder the hero in his quest for the Grail, but I am by no means sure that it had originally anything to do with this. Perceval is in no hurry to find the Grail Castle; when he reaches the other side he deliberately takes another road. The one point clear in this perplexing tangle of adventures is that neither lady-love nor Grail is of any importance

[1] In some texts, as in B. N. 12,576, and in Mons, the arrival of the knight at court is told in detail; in the majority of the versions it is either very briefly told or altogether omitted. These cross relations are very perplexing.

[2] Potvin, ll. 22,289 *et seq.*

in the story; the smallest hindrance is sufficient to deter Perceval from pursuing his quest for either.

We have next the adventure of the chessboard[1] and the stag-hunt, which, as we saw earlier, provide the framework for the greater portion of the subsequent incidents. I have already noted that the episode of the knight in the tomb is given in two distinct versions, one of which must be considerably later than the other. All this part probably belonged to the early *Perceval* story.

At this point we have in four texts,[2] Mons, Edinburgh, B. N. 1453, and the edition of 1530, a group of adventures, which appear to serve no purpose, and are of no interest in themselves. Perceval meets first a huntsman with two dogs, and asks him of the Fisher King's castle—(as a matter of fact what Perceval is at the moment in search of is the stag's-head)—he has frequented that part of the country for thirty years, but has never heard speak of it. That night Perceval lodges with the huntsman; the next morning he departs, and riding through the forest meets a valet covered with blood, and pursued by a mounted knight. Perceval asks what has been his offence, but receives no answer, and the knight, overtaking the fugitive, cuts him down. Perceval repeats his question, and the knight scornfully tells him that if he stayed to answer every one who asked him of his business he would achieve nothing. This answer is so little to Perceval's liking that he attacks the knight forthwith, and on his continued refusal to explain his action slays him. He then rides off, thinking it a great pity that

[1] Potvin, ll. 22,394 *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 22,888-23,270.

he does not know who the dead men were, or whence they came. This seems to be a singularly futile episode.

Perceval next reaches a hermitage, where he stays the night, bespeaking the good offices of the Hermit to bury the knight and valet. On leaving he meets an old man on a white mule, with hawk on wrist, who reproaches him as the slayer of his brother, the Red Knight. Perceval explains that Arthur gave him the armour; the old man says it is true, he shall hear no more of the matter. He then tells Perceval he knows he is seeking the Fisher King's castle; yesterday he had met the King's daughter at a castle near by, she was boasting of having carried off the brachet of the knight who had failed to ask the question; she had done so to annoy him. Perceval is rejoiced at hearing he is so near to the castle, and asks the way to it, but on leaving the old knight is so taken up with his thoughts that he misses the road.

This is again very poor. We have in Gerbert a much better sequel to the Red Knight story. There is no daughter of the Grail King either in Chrétien or in Wauchier, though a niece is mentioned in both; and Perceval's absence of mind whenever it is a question of finding his way to the Grail Castle is a very poor piece of literary 'machinery.' I think it obvious that these adventures have either been invented by Wauchier, or taken over from some *Perceval-Grail* poem of inferior workmanship. The fact that they are in Edinburgh seems to show that they were introduced into the story at a fairly early date.[1]

[1] B. N. 12,576 has a very curious variant in the adventure of the stag's head. Instead of saying a knight stole it, we have '*a maiden, the fairest ever seen*,' who takes it, and rides off; but we are told that Perceval follows '*le chevalier qui son braquet en va portant*.' Is the

There is nothing of note in the next two adventures. In the first Perceval slays a lion, and overcomes its master, Abrioris de Brunes Mons, whom he sends captive to Arthur. In the second he vanquishes a giant, and frees a maiden, whom the monster has held captive in his stronghold: he leaves land and castle to the lady and rides off.[1]

Next follows the adventures with the White Knight of the Ford Amorous, which in the *Perceval* poem has no special interest, but we shall find when we come to study the 'Didot' *Perceval* that it is there given in a much more picturesque form. It is thus probably a working over of an older and more primitive theme.

After leaving the Knight of the Ford, Perceval meets Gawain's son, who reveals his identity in these words:

> '*Li Biax Desconeüs* ai non
> ensi m'apelent li Breton,
> Mesire Gauvains est mes pere
> qui plus vus aime que son frere
> Gahariet qu'il aime tant.'[2]

Thus much in the same terms he afterwards employs to his father. After parting from Guinglain, Perceval comes, quite accidentally, and with no apparent desire on his part, to Blancheflor; the circumstances of the visit have been fully discussed in chapter iv. It may be noted that her city is situated on the 'Hombre,' no doubt the Humber.

This section must have been drawn from a longer poem, possibly Chrétien's source, but there is nothing sufficiently

story given by Mons and the kindred texts due to a mere slip on the part of some copyist?

[1] Potvin, ll. 23,270-24,162.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 24,583-7.

distinctive to enable us to speak positively. The details agree well with the earlier visit, but the conclusion is of course unsatisfactory.[1]

The next incident is exceedingly interesting, and of quite a different character. Perceval, after leaving Blancheflor, meets a knight accompanied by a lady of surpassing ugliness, who is, however, richly dressed, and carries herself with great self-assurance. So hideous is she that Perceval cannot refrain from laughter, and thereby arouses the resentment of her companion, who challenges him, and of course gets the worse of the encounter. On being asked his name, and that of his lady, he explains that he is *Le Biax Mauvais*, son to the Comte de Gauvoie, and that his 'amie' is named Rosette. So dearly does he love her that he cannot bear to be parted from her, even for an hour, and is jealous of every man, even of his own father. Perceval remarks he is certainly very much in love, and bids him betake himself with his lady to Arthur's court, and tell the king of the love he bears her. This the knight does, and we have a picturesque account of their arrival, and of the sensation created by the lady's appalling ugliness, and her knight's complacent allusions to her beauty, which prove quite too much for the risible faculties of the courtiers. Kay, of course, enjoys himself immensely, inquiring with feigned anxiety whether there be more such maidens in the knight's country, if so, he would fain win one for himself; a piece of discourtesy for which he is sternly rebuked by the King. Knight and lady remain at Arthur's court, and the story ends with the surprising announcement that she was the most lovely maiden in the world!

[1] Potvin, ll. 24,745-25,332.

The variants of the texts are here worth noting. B. N. 12,576 says:

'vus di que puis fu la pucele
aprez si avenans e bele
onques nus si bele ne vit
si s'est voirs que conte l'escrit.'

Edinburgh has:

'que fu puis, ce set l'on, plus belle
que l'on ne savoit damoiselle
de sa biauté en la contree
ce ne sai je s'elle ert faee.'

With which the German translation, which, as a rule, goes with 12,576, agrees:

'-die juncfrowe darnoch, daz ist war,
schone wart und so weidenlich gar,
daz ez daz lant aller gar wunder nam.
inenweis ob sü von feinen kam.'[1]

Now it is quite clear here that Wauchier is dealing with a tale which he does not understand. He writes it down as he heard it, but the conclusion is, to his mind, quite inexplicable. How could the maiden be at the same time hideous and beautiful? Evidently his source threw no light upon the problem.

We know, however, that the possibility of such a transformation formed one of the earliest story-themes, and it seems probable that in its oldest recoverable form it was of Celtic origin. It is worth noting that this particular variant is connected with Gauvoie (Galloway), the country which early Arthurian tradition has so closely associated

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 112; Edinburgh, fo. 135; Wisse-Colin, p. 394.

with Gawain, while Gawain is himself the hero of perhaps the best known version of the *Loathly Lady* tale. I think we may safely conclude that this story was derived by Wauchier from an early source; in its present form it has very little connection with Perceval or his quest.[1]

Perceval now comes to his mother's house,[2] and finds his sister. This visit has already been commented upon, and its discrepancies with Chrétien's version pointed out. It must certainly have been drawn from a biographical poem devoted to Perceval, but that poem can hardly have been identical with Chrétien's source. Throughout there is no clear evidence, such as we find in Gerbert, that Wauchier knew, and used, the direct source of Chrétien's *Perceval* adventures. His version where it does not, as is frequently the case, demonstrably belong to an earlier tradition, shows such a complete lack of harmony with the *données* of Chrétien's poem, that beyond the point of conclusion of the *Chastel Merveilleus* section there is nothing to lead us to conclude that Wauchier was in the least interested in the work of his predecessor. The present section was certainly part of a *Perceval-Grail* romance, but in various points it flatly contradicts Chrétien. There is of course the initial fact of the presence here of a sister, whose existence is unknown to Chrétien. Above we have noted the prayer which Perceval learns from the Hermit on his Good Friday visit, and the use to which he, apparently, put it. Here we are told he knows his Paternoster and nothing else :

[1] Is perhaps 'le Biax Mauvais' the same as 'le biaus Coart'? I agree with Dr. Nitze's suggestion that there was at one time an independent tale concerned with this latter knight.

[2] Potvin, ll. 25,745 *et seq.*

'car orison grant ne petite
ne savoit plus en nule guise.
c'en avoit sa mere aprise.'[1]

Did Wauchier intend, by this very definite statement, to throw doubt on the authenticity of the other tradition?

The Hermit is here brother to the hero's father, not, as in Chrétien, to his mother. The account Perceval gives of his adventures is not in conformity with the text, for he says he fell asleep in the Grail Castle, and knows not how he left it, which agrees with the *Gawain*, but not with the *Perceval* visits. All this section is very perplexing.

In the next adventure[2] we are back on primitive ground. Wauchier's account of the *Castle of Maidens* is one of his happiest efforts. If proof be needed of the superior antiquity of the subject matter of this first continuation, we have it here, in the version of this story, as contrasted with that given by other writers. Here the maidens are all of one age, and of equal rank. They have golden hair, and are richly dressed in green, with gold embroidery. The castle is a veritable 'castle of maidens,' for they alone built it, no mason laid hand to it, but it was raised by four maidens, *mult avenans gentes e beles*. On first entering, it appears to be deserted; and not till Perceval has struck several blows upon a brazen table with a hammer attached to it by a chain of gold does any one come to his summons. Had he not had the courage to repeat the blow, in spite of threats as to the fatal results likely to follow, he would have been left in the hall all night without food or company. Such is the beauty of the maidens

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 113 *vo.*
[2] Potvin, ll. 26,471 *et seq.*

that the hero thinks himself in Paradise, and as the writer humorously remarks:

'entrez i est voirement
car Paradis mien essient
est d'estre avec beles puceles
avec dames e damoiseles,
tant a en eles de doçor.'[1]

When he wakes in the morning the castle has vanished, and he finds himself under an oak-tree.

Now this is a fairy story pure and simple. The appearance of the maidens, the character of the castle, its mysterious disappearance, all show clearly that we are dealing with a tale of folk-lore and fairy origin. Contrast this account with that of Gerbert, where the ladies are dressed in black with white veils, and their head, Saint Isabel, is of untold age, having come to the land with Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail. In Manessier, again, the ladies are of different ages, and vowed to celibacy. The castle is here besieged by the would-be husband of one of the younger maidens, who, though vanquished by Segramor, finally obtains her hand, as a guerdon for his fidelity. In both these versions the Fairy Castle has become a nunnery.

In the *Queste* the *Castle of Maidens* is accursed, and the seat of evil customs. The maidens set free by Galahad are said to betoken the souls delivered by Christ from Purgatory. This rather looks like a reminiscence of the original character of the tale, worked over for purposes of edification. The 'Nunnery' version could hardly have taken such a colour. This story probably formed the subject of an

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 116.

early '*Perceval*' *lai*; and, as we shall see, there is reason to believe that it was incorporated in the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation.

We next have Perceval's[1] meeting with the knight who stole the stag's head and the brachet, and his recovery of the trophy. He hears from the knight, Garsalas, the true story of the knight of the tomb, which, as we have earlier remarked, is here always given in the same way, and agrees with the simpler version of the tale, in which the knight takes refuge in the tomb, and Perceval does not follow him.

Then follows the meeting with the maiden of the white mule, her disappearance, the mysterious light in the forest, the storm, the second meeting with the maiden, who explains the light as due to the Grail, and finally lends Perceval her mule and ring, to enable him to reach the Fisher King's castle.[2]

This section is of considerable interest for critical purposes: the account of the Grail agrees in no way with that previously given in the *Gawain* section, and due to Bleheris. There it was simply a food-providing talisman;

[1] Potvin, ll. 27,005 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 27,711 *et seq.* In the unique MS. of *Livre d'Artus*, B. N. 337, certain Knights of the Round Table, being in a forest on the borders of the lands of Galehault, meet a white stag, with red cross on the forehead and lighted tapers on the antlers; on its back it carries a precious vessel, covered with a silken cloth. The stag is followed by a white brachet, behind which comes a little maiden, holding on a leash two small white animals the size of rabbits (conins). The procession is closed by a knight in a litter, borne by four small 'palefrois.' In the air above voices sing sweetly: 'Honor, et gloire, et poestez et ioie pardurable soit au destruior de la mort'—fo. 249, *vo.* 250. This procession of the Grail King corresponds with the indications found in Wauchier, and with no other extant version.

there was no hint of its holiness, none of its power to preserve from sin. The two accounts can in no way be reconciled, and are obviously drawn from different sources. Nor does this one agree with Chrétien, for, as we shall see when Perceval arrives at the castle, the King is not maimed.

At the moment of Perceval's departure from the lady, we have a long passage reproaching those minstrels who tell the tale other than in accordance with the right tradition.

'Mais il sont ore maint vassal
qui fabloiant vont par ces cors,
qui les bons contes font rebors
e des estoires les esloignent
e des mençonges tant i joignent
que li conte tout emperissent
e les bons livres en honissent;
e cil qui oent e escoutent
ne sevent que bon conte coustent.
ains dient, quant cil menestrel
gisent la nuit en lor hostel
e il lor font .I. poi conter
d'une aventure sanz rimer,
qu'il ont toute l'estoire oie
que ja n'orront dedens lor vie;
si lor fait on mençonge acroire
et en dient la fausse estoire
et metent la mençonge avant.'[1]

This is the only occasion, in the section devoted to Perceval, that we find any such allusion to a rival tradition.

The difference between the *Perceval* and the *Gawain*

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 122 *vo.* Mons omits ll. 7 and 8.

sections is here very marked. The latter refer constantly to the original source, the '*grant conte*,' of which the incidents narrated form a part, whilst here alone, and in the reference to Fescamp, do we find any allusion to the sources from which the *Perceval* stories are derived.

Having received from the maiden the loan of mule and ring, to enable him to reach the Grail Castle in safety, we might expect Perceval to make his way thither without delay; on the contrary, having crossed the bridge of glass in safety, on meeting a knight, Briols de la forest arsée, he allows himself to be persuaded by this latter into attending the great tournament to be held at Chastel Orguellous, when, if he can cross the Bridge Perilous, he may hope to succeed in his quest of the Grail.

Let us note here that in the *Perlesvaus* we find that the hero receives from his Hermit uncle the loan of a white mule, mounted upon which he crosses the bridge to the Fisher King's castle, held by the king of Chastel Mortel, and finally wins the fortress. I think it is clear that the white mule should conduct Perceval to the castle of his quest, but the story has been dislocated by the introduction of elements belonging to an earlier tradition.

This particular section, the crossing of the Bridge Perilous, and the tournament, require to be closely studied. The bridge, we are told, is only half completed, the ascent rises to the top of the central arch, and there stops short. When Perceval reaches the centre, with a loud '*brait*,' the bridge detaches itself from the bank, and swinging round, fixes itself to the further side, thus enabling him to cross. The story of the building of this bridge deserves attention.[1]

[1] Potvin, ll. 28,825 *et seq.*

A certain knight, Carimedic, visiting Arthur's court for Christmas, quarrelled with the lord of the Chastel Orguellous. They fought, and Carimedic was victorious. The cousin to the lord of Chastel Orguellous, whose name is given sometimes as '*li enfes*,' sometimes as '*li tousez*' *de Baladigan*,' made war on him to avenge his kinsman. Carimedic saw he could make no headway against his foes till he found some means of crossing the river. One day he was hunting in the forest, and the quarry, a wild boar, as night fell, eluded his hounds, and finally took refuge in a lonely house. Carimedic sounded his horn three times, and a maiden appeared at the window, and asked what he desired. He explained that he had lost his way, and asked shelter for the night, which was readily granted.

The lady had, in truth, long loved the knight, and knowing much '*d'art e d'ingremanche e d'engien*,' had devised the hunt as a means of bringing him to her arms. She promised, in return for his love, to find a way of bridging the river. Carimedic consented gladly, and the next day the lady set to work, but ere her task was more than half completed the knight was accidentally slain, and in her grief the lady swore that the bridge should remain as it was, and that none but the most valiant knight should ride over it.

The story obviously belongs to the same family as that of Guingamor, and its kindred *lais*. It is the well-known theme of the mortal knight and the fairy mistress; the means adopted to bring the two together, the boar hunt, is precisely the same as in the case of Guingamor. The story is, moreover, closely connected with the Chastel Orguellous, and was probably included in that compilation. In its original form it is most likely that it was the subject of an independent *lai*.

The tournament at Chastel Orguellous forms an episode which, when the critical investigation of the text is definitely undertaken, will be found to be of great importance. All the texts make it extend over two days. B. N. 12,576, on the second day describes how Perceval, on his arrival on the field, sees the different companies of Arthur's knights, each under the distinctive banner of their special leader. Two great banners, white demi-quartered 'vermeil,' are the arms of Gawain; similar, only 'enherminees' (white 'tached' black?)

'celes sont Giglain ce vus dit
qui est fis Monseigneur Gauvain
qu'il ne trouva mie plain
de mauvestie quant l'encontrast
e el bois a lui se mella'[1]

With them are Agravain, and Gaharies, the former bearing lions on his banner, the latter eagles. Here again only the one brother is named. Next follows the banner of Ywain:

'Ywain l'avoultre est od lui
e cil de Lyonel andui
qui mult erent bon chevalier.'[2]

Is this last the same as the Iwain de Nonel of *Lanzelet* and *Parzival*? The succeeding companies are headed respectively by Segramor, Tor fis Ares, Giflet fis Doon, Cadors and Carados, and Brandelis.

Berne 113, at this point, also inserts a description of these various companies, but gives it on the first instead of the second day, and there are some variants in the later groups. No other MS. gives them, but all allude to the number of banners and ensigns Perceval sees floating in

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 126. [2] *Ibid.*, fo. 126 *vo.*

the breeze. I think it will eventually be found that the version of B. N. 12,576 represents the original from which all are derived. Many of the texts, describing the deeds of the knights, give a good line relative to Gawain:

> 'cil qui d'armes font a prisier
> i font merveilles de lor mains
> *Gauvains i est comme Gauvains.*'[1]

Perceval, however, carries off the prize of the tourney. It may be remarked that Gawain being the original hero of the '*Chastel Orguellous*' compilation we must here be dealing with a secondary form of that story-group.

After leaving Briols, Perceval has an adventure with a treacherous knight who would fain imprison him in a tomb,[2] but is balked by his inability to ride the mule, which will only stir for the wearer of the ring. He then meets the maiden who owns both, and who, on learning that Perceval has not yet visited the Grail Castle, demands the immediate return of mule and ring, and rides off without replying to Perceval's questions. As remarked above, the mule should surely conduct the hero to his goal; here the loan subserves no purpose.[3]

The hero is now completely at a loss, but a mysterious[4] voice bids him put down the brachet, and follow where it shall lead; by which means he comes in safety to the castle of the chessboard, where the lady acquits herself of her pledge in the manner described in chapter iv.

[1] B. N. 12,577, fo. 185 *vo.*

[2] Potvin, ll. 29,680, *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 29,820.

[4] In Berne 113, we are told it is the voice of '*.I. haut archangle grant.*' The occasion scarcely seems to call for Divine interposition.

On leaving her she directs him to the Grail Castle; but again Perceval deliberately, and for no apparent reason, goes another way. Towards evening he finds a knight, Bagomedes, hanging by his feet from a tree; he has been thus suspended by Kay and his companions, who were returning, bereft of their senses, from an abortive visit to Mont Dolorous. Perceval frees him, and we have then an account of Bagomedes' appearance at Arthur's court, his accusation of Kay, followed by a judicial combat, which is finally arranged by the intercession of the Queen.

Arthur retains the knight at court, and bids him company with Gawain:

> 'ore est Bagomedes remes
> puis fu a cort mult honorez
> e renomez par maints pais.'[1]

The story, as we saw in the preceding chapter, then reverts to Gawain, and follows his adventures for some considerable time.

On resuming the thread of the Perceval story we have, for the first and only time, a reference to the immediate compiler of the poem. As the form of the name varies considerably, it may be well to give the different versions. Gautier de Denet (B. N. 12,576); Gauciers de Donaing (B. M. Add. 36,614); Walther von Dünsin (Wisse-Colin); Gauchier de Doulenz (B. N. 12,577); Gauchier de Dordain (B. N. 1453); Gauchier de Doudain (Edinburgh, Montpellier, 1530); Gautiers de Dons (Mons). B. N. 1429 has the curious reading 'Chanter dou douz tanz.'

M. Paul Meyer has recently come to the conclusion that the form *Donaing*, given by the British Museum MS.,

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 138.

is the most correct, and that the compiler of this section of the *Perceval* was identical with a certain Wauchier de Denain (of which *Donaing* is an older form), who appears to have been a writer of considerable fertility, and who translated a series of *Lives of the Saints* for Philip, Marquis of Namur.[1]

It certainly appears in the highest degree unlikely that there can have been two writers of the same period bearing names so curiously alike, and I have, therefore, adopted M. Meyer's identification. It is worth noting that the MSS. which give the name in the form closest to that which M. Meyer holds for the original, also, as a rule, give the best text.

The first adventure Perceval[2] meets with, after parting from Bagomedes, is the finding of a small child, about five years old, on a tree. He asks him of the Grail, Fisher King, etc., but the child will tell him nothing, save that the next day he may go to Mont Dolorous, where he will hear tidings that will please him. Having said this he climbs higher and higher till Perceval loses sight of him.

We have next the adventure of Mont Dolorous, to the pillar upon which none but the bravest knight can fasten his steed. This story is connected in a most interesting manner with the Arthurian tradition. We are told that at Arthur's birth three ladies appeared, and prophesied his future renown. This is a detail found in Layamon, but not given by Wace. One day, when Uther Pendragon was in his 'repaire' in the forest of 'Gloecestre,' leaning out of the window, a maiden richly dressed accosted him, and told him how she had met a lady, sitting beside a

[1] Cf. *Romania*, vol. xxxii. p. 583.

[2] Potvin, ll. 23,755-24,934.

fountain, who had spoken to her of the future glories in store for the King's son. She conceived it to be her duty to inform the King. Uther at once summoned Merlin, and consulted him as to the means whereby they might ensure that only the most valiant knights should serve Arthur. Merlin undertook to provide a test; hence the erection of the pillar. All who fail in the attempt to fasten their steeds to it become bereft of sense. The maiden who relates the history of Mont Dolorous to Perceval is Merlin's daughter. Around the pillar stand fifteen crosses, five red, five white, and five blue. It is at this point that we have the allusion to Fescamp:

'si com li contes nos affiche
qui a Fescans es tos escris.'[1]

We have thus two points of interest in connection with this story, the reference to Fescamp, and the fact that it is the only incident in the *Perceval* which professes to be connected with the pseudo-historic Arthurian tradition.

After the episode of Mont Dolorous, the story moves rapidly to a close. Perceval takes the direct road to the Grail Castle, and on the way is first perplexed by a tree, covered apparently with lighted candles, which vanish as he approaches, and then comes to the chapel of the Black Hand, on the altar of which a knight lies dead. This last adventure, which is also found in the *Gawain-Grail*[2]

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 148 *vo.* It should be remembered that Mont Dolorous is referred to in Chrétien; Kahedîn there undertakes the adventure. Is it possible that there has been some confusion between this name, and that of Kay, who, as we said above, undertakes and is foiled in this adventure?

[2] Cf. the notes to my translation of this story, *Arthurian Romances*, VI.

story, is certainly old, and most probably of folklore origin. The next morning he arrives at the Grail Castle, and is warmly welcomed by the King.

As they sit at meat the Grail, borne by a fair maiden, passes before them, another maiden carries the Lance, and a valet the broken sword. Perceval would fain know the meaning of the marvels he has seen. The King gives him an edifying interpretation of the child, who would not speak to him on account of his sins, but defers the explanation of the rest till he has fulfilled the test of the sword. Perceval lays hand to it, and succeeds in joining the pieces, all but a small fissure; the King tells him God has not yet granted him the honour of being best of all knights. Perceval sighs deeply, whereon the King throws his arms round his neck, and tells him that he makes him lord of his house, and all that he has. The sword is wrapped in cendal, and carried away, '*Et Perceval se reconforte.*'[1]

With this line I think that Wauchier's part in the poem ends. Immediately afterwards the Grail procession passes again, and this time there is a '*taillëor*' in it. We then have the story of the breaking of the sword, the murder of Goondesert, and the maiming of the King, who throughout Wauchier appears to be in full possession of his powers.

B. M. Add. 36,614 concludes with the line just quoted, and it is noticeable that B. N. 794, with which it is so closely in agreement, concludes with the similar line, '*Et Perceval se desconforte.*' If a copyist had undertaken to transcribe Wauchier's share of the work, and had received his commission orally, it is quite conceivable that he might have confused the two. It is certainly very remarkable

[1] Potvin, l. 34,934.

that two MSS., showing such close correspondence, should conclude with such similar lines.

But how did Wauchier come to leave his work incomplete? Did death overtake him before he had finished the task, or did he lay it aside, under the impulse of religious conviction, in order to devote himself to more edifying studies? The fact that the majority of his work which has come down to us is of this latter character, would seem to point to this conclusion. In any case the concluding passages cannot be held to be satisfactory. Perceval has not succeeded in re-soldering the sword, why then should the King yield him the lordship of his house? The whole presentment is hopelessly confused; the question has been dropped out. Neither here nor in Manessier is there any hint of another personality, such as the Fisher King's father, served by the Grail. Wauchier does not agree with Chrétien; he does not agree with Bleheris; he does not agree with the *Chastel Merveilleus* version. Is the story he was telling really different from all these, or is the discrepancy due to carelessness? It will probably be impossible to decide, but for the main lines of his work I think we can form a more or less definite scheme.[1]

The main part, from line 15,795, was drawn from a collection of tales dealing with Gawain, and originally of great antiquity. All this section is marked by constant

[1] As I have said before, I cannot agree with those critics who hold that the conclusion of Bérne 113 is due to Wauchier, and represents the original ending of the poem. The introduction and conclusion are alike the work of the copyist, who can only have had an incomplete text before him. Had we no introduction the matter might be in doubt, but the fact that the fragment has been neatly 'rounded up' at the beginning throws an unmistakable light on the concluding passage.

appeals to the audience, and references to the extent and importance of the original source. To this collection, tales, of which Perceval was the hero, and which probably first existed as independent *lais*, had been added, but in the *Perceval* section we never find references to the *grant conte*, and but rarely appeals to the audience. Wauchier was also familiar with a literary form of the *Perceval* story, in which he was the lover of Blancheflor, and the winner of the Grail, but his references do not accord with Chrétien, and it is not certain that the poem he knew was the source of the earlier work. What is quite certain is that both the connection with Blancheflor and the Quest of the Grail are later additions to the story, for they do not agree with the main lines of Wauchier's compilation, and fit very awkwardly into the framework. Judging from the character of the Fescamp legend, it seems most probable that the book referred to, as written at Fescamp, would be a *Perceval-Grail* romance, and it may well be that Wauchier combined *tant bien que mal* the earlier and later traditions, and that the confusion is due to him. It is not, however, certain that he knew the Joseph of Arimathea story, as its presence in the *Gawain-Grail*[1] visit is certainly a later addition. The whole section is in the highest degree complicated, and offers problems of extreme interest to the critical scholar.

[1] But as we have noted above, chap. v., the '*Joseph*' interpolation has certainly been affected by the Fescamp legend. Also the *Parzival*, so closely related to Chrétien's poem, shows signs of such influence. It seems probable that the ultimate source of both poems may have been redacted at Fescamp. Did Wauchier know, and prefer not to use, it?

CHAPTER XI

THE RELATION TO OTHER TEXTS

(a) *The Elucidation*

In an article recently published in *Romania*,[1] I summarised, somewhat briefly, the parallels existing between the curious text known as the *Elucidation* and the 'Wauchier' continuation. I here propose to examine the question more in detail, our previous discussion of the adventures having now provided us with fuller material.

The introductory lines speak of a 'Master Blihis,' who told of the mysteries of the Grail, into the secret of which none may inquire. A similar warning is found in Wauchier:

> 'que c'est du segré du Graal;
> si fet grant pechié et grant mal
> cil qui s'entremet de conter
> fors si comme il doit aler.'[2]

We then have the account of the ravishing of the maidens of the wells by King Amangons and his knights, in consequence of which the land becomes waste, and the court of the Fisher King can no longer be found. What is the real connection between the maidens and the Grail is not explained, and is, on the face of it, by no means clear.

[1] Vol. xxxiii. p. 333.

[2] B. N. 12,577, fo. 133 *vo.*

The only connection between Wauchier's text and this story is a very indirect one. In Manessier the sister of the knight slain in Gawain's safe-conduct (the story is told by Wauchier) summons Gawain to her aid against King Mangons, or Amangons. The incident as we have it is neither very interesting nor very convincing, it is certainly very inferior to the tale of which it is supposed to be the completion, but it seems to indicate the possibility of a link between the maidens and the Grail Castle.

The knights of the Round Table, when they hear the story, ride forth to avenge the maidens, and find ladies wandering in the woods, each with her attendant knight. As these are stated to be the descendants of the ravished maidens it is quite clear that a considerable interval must have elapsed. This appears to me of importance, as indicating the fact that the Grail story, even in its earliest recoverable form, only exists as an imperfectly remembered tradition.

The first of the knights overcome was Blihos-Bliheris, whom Gawain vanquished, and sent to court. None knew him :

'mais si trés bons contes savoit
que nus ne se peüst lasser
de ses paroles escouter.'[1]

It was he who told them who the maidens were, and how the land might not be restored till the court of the Fisher King was once more found. We have here a detail not found in any of the extant Grail texts; it is said of the King :

'qui moult savoit de ningremance
qu'il muast . C. fois sa samblance,'[2]

[1] Potvin, ll. 170-2.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 221-4.

none who had seen him in one guise might recognise him in another. Sir Gawain found the court while Arthur reigned, as shall be told:

'ça avant vos ert bien conté
la joie qu'il gaengna
dont tous li regnes amenda.'[1]

It will be remembered that through Gawain's question as to the Lance the fruitfulness of the country is restored. But the first to find the court was a young knight, Perceval li Galois, who afterwards came to the Round Table. He asked concerning the Grail, but not concerning the Lance. Then follows an account of the Grail Castle and its marvels, which agrees in some passages literally with the Bleheris-*Gawain* visit, but with none recounted of Perceval. Thus the *Elucidation* tells us:

'Apriès veïssiés le Graal
sans serjant et sans senescal
par l'uis d'une cambre venir
et moult honestement servir.'[2]

In the accounts of Gawain's Grail visit we find,

'Lors vit parmi . I . huis entrer
le riche Graal qui servoit
. . . . .
ne nul autre serjant n'avoit.
. . . . .
Adonques veïssiez venir
le Graal moult honestement.'[3]

Another MS. tells us,

'Moult par les sert honestement.'[4]

[1] Potvin, 227-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, 303-6.
[3] B. N. 12,577, fo. 134 *vo.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 12,576, fo. 89 *vo.*

And a third,

'Nul autre seneschal n'i voit
ne nul serjant.'[1]

Seven times was the court found, and each story shall be told in its place.[2] Here they shall only be named. The seventh, which is the most pleasing, tells of the Lance with which Longis smote the Saviour in the side. The sixth, *Del grant content de la travaille* (this I do not understand). The fifth of the anger and the loss of Huden. It is interesting that in the parallel section of the *Perceval* we find a reference to Huden. When Arthur and his knights arrive at the castle of Brandelis a brachet runs into the hall, and Kay begs the King to give it to him,

'Si vus me donerai le don
si avra Huden compagnon.'[3]

Huden was, of course, Tristan's dog. Did the original collection contain the story of the banishment of Tristan and Iseult and their woodland life?

The fourth is the story of the dead knight in the skiff, which came first to Glamorgan.[4] This story, the hero of which is Gawain's brother, Garahies, or Guerrehes, we have

[1] B. N. 794, fo. 422.

[2] As I have noted in chap. i., Mons is the only authority for the 'Branches' of the Grail story, both the German translation and the edition of 1530 omit them.

[3] B. N. 12,576, fo. 77 *vo.*

[4] In Mons the lines run,

'Ii contes del ciel est li quars
car cil ki n'estoit pas couars
Li chevaliers mors de calan
qui premiers tint a Glamorgan.'

Potvin, ll. 361-4.

'*Ciel*' in the first line should probably be '*cigne.*' The first word appears to have no meaning, but the boat is drawn by a swan.

found in Wauchier, where it is designated as '*une autre branche.*'

The third tells of the hawk, of which Castraes was in dread; Pecorins, the son of Amangon, bore ever the wound in his forehead. This tale I have not identified; Amangons, or Mangons, has a son in Manessier, but the name is not Pecorins.

The second is the story of the great sorrow; how Lancelot du Lac was there where he lost his valour. This corresponds to nothing in Wauchier, whose knowledge of Lancelot is doubtful, but it may well be the story of Lancelot's adventure at Chastel Limors, related in the *Lanzelet*, where all who entered became cowards. A similar incident is found in *Rigomer*.[1]

The first is the tale of the shield. Never was there a better. This is, in all probability, the episode of the magic shield, conquered by Gawain, the story of which is related by Wauchier, on the authority of Bleheris.

After the finding of the court the land became fertile, and the woods blossomed again, so that all marvelled.

Then came an evil folk into the land:

'Adont revenoit unes gens
plaines de mout grans mautalens.
cil ki erent des puis issus,
mais ki n'estoient pas quéus.
cil fisent castiaus e chitès.
viles et bours et fremetés.
Et firent pour les damoiseles
le rice Castel as pucieles;
cil fisent le pont perillous,
et le grant Castel Orguellous.'

[1] *Vertu*, the original word, is, I think, more correctly rendered by *valour, courage*, than by *virtue*, as given by Mr. Nutt in *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail.*

This was established against Arthur and his knights:

> ' Par grant orguel fu comencié
> encontre la Table Reonde
> bien fu seü par tout le monde ;
> laiens avoit cascuns s'amie ;
> moult par menoient bele vie
> trois cens . LXVI . estoient
> cil ki le castiel mantenoient.'[1]

Compare this with Arthur's address to his knights at the opening of the *Chastel Orguellous* adventure,[2] and with the announcement of the Grail messenger. *Trois* cens should probably be *cinq*, five hundred and sixty-six, the number always given of the knights. We have also seen that Wauchier relates the story of the 'Château as Puceles,' and of the 'Pont Perillous'; moreover that this last is closely connected with the Chastel Orguellous. At the conclusion of the *Chastel Orguellous* story we saw that several MSS. give as authority Bleheris or Bliobleheris, the same authority as is quoted for the shield story, where it is definitely stated that he was by birth and breeding a Welshman, and that he told the tale, even as Wauchier tells it, to a Count of Poitiers.

Now when we find that, besides the close correspondence of the tales in the two compilations, the author of the *Elucidation* quotes both a 'Master Blihis' and a knight 'Blihos-Bliheris,' the coincidence can scarcely be accidental. The *Elucidation* is an exceedingly confused text; it is by no means easy to discover what the writer was driving at, possibly he was not certain himself; but I think that there

[1] Potvin, ll. 401-17. It will be noted that this account does not agree with Wauchier's statement that the maidens themselves built the 'Castel as pucieles.'

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 236.

can be little or no doubt that he was dealing with a later and more extended version of the collection known to Wauchier. It is significant that, although he says that Perceval found the Grail Castle before Gawain, yet that he first mentions the fact of Gawain's visit, and the great joy that resulted therefrom. It is quite clear from his references to Perceval and the Question, '*por coi il servoit*,' and the introduction, at the end of the *Elucidation*, of the concluding lines of Chrétien's genuine prologue, that the text has here been worked over with a view to using it as an introduction to the *Perceval*, so that the allusions to the Grail visit of that hero may be due to the transcriber. The fact that the *Elucidation* and Wauchier agree verbally in certain passages, *e.g.* in the opening of the *Chastel Orguellous* adventure, seems to show that they drew from a written source; but the stories alluded to in the former differ in so many respects from those told by the latter that the text at root of both cannot have been precisely the same. I would suggest that both ultimately derive from a collection of traditional Arthurian stories, of which the version used by Wauchier was an earlier and purer form than that at the disposal of the compiler of the *Elucidation*.[1]

(b) *The English 'Gawain' poems.*

In the article contributed to *Romania*, I referred briefly to the parallels between this section of the *Perceval* and our vernacular Arthurian poems. This question merits closer attention. It is a noticeable peculiarity of these poems

[1] Thus it seems to me that while Wauchier's text had only been complicated by the introduction of *Perceval* stories, that known to the author of *Elucidation* included certainly a *Lancelot* and possibly a *Tristan* tale.

that the hero whose deeds they celebrate is, almost without exception, Sir Gawain. Professor Maynadier, in his study of *The Wife of Bath's Tale*,[1] noting this, has remarked that, previous to Malory's compilation it was Gawain, and not Arthur, who was the traditional English hero.

Under the title of *Syr Gawayne*, Sir Frederick Madden published for the Bannatyne Club, in 1839, all the extant poems and fragments of poems relating to this hero, and the collection provides us with material of considerable interest for our investigation.

The principal poem, *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte*, which deals with the 'head-cutting' challenge, finds a parallel in the *Carados* section, where the adventure is ascribed to that knight, but in a form much inferior to that preserved in the English poem.

Golagros and Gawayne, also a poem of some length and importance, is simply a working over of the *Chastel Orguellous* story. The first seventeen stanzas comprise the adventure of 'Kay and the Spit,' related in close agreement with the version of the *Perceval*. The episode of the sister of Brandelis is not given here, but the events which occur before Chastel Orguellous agree closely with the French text. Golagros is a valiant knight, who owns allegiance to neither King nor Kaiser. He is no enemy to Arthur, but he will not be his 'man.' A succession of jousts are ridden before the walls of his castle, the strength of which, and the fact that it is of stone, being insisted upon. Throughout 'Syr Spynagrose'[2] plays the rôle assigned in

[1] Grimm Library, No. XIII. We have, of course, *Sir Tristrem*, *Syr Percyvelle*, the *Morte Arthure* and the Scots fragment of *Lancelot du Laik*, but no other knight is the hero of a group of poems.

[2] Sir Espinogres of the French romances?

the French text to Brandelis, and explains to Arthur the customs of the castle. The fact that the lord of the castle will himself ride forth is announced by the ringing of a bell; in the *Perceval*, as we have seen, it is the blast of a horn. Finally Golagros, overcome by Gawayne, hesitates to yield, and persuades Gawayne to make a feint of being vanquished, and to return with him to his castle, to submit the question of whether Golagros shall yield or be slain to the judgment of his knights. This Gawayne does, and they decide that they will prefer their lord to live, even at the sacrifice of his independence. The grief of Arthur, the fact that he takes to his bed in despair at the supposed loss of his nephew, and his subsequent joy and relief, all agree closely with the French text.

There can be no possible doubt that we are here dealing with two versions of one and the same story. Sir Frederick Madden saw this, and in the 'Notes' to his edition summarised the text of the *Perceval*, with some omissions.[1]

In the *Awntyrs of Arthur at Tarn Wathelyn*, probably the work of the same author, Gawayne is challenged by

[1] Is it possible that it was the *Chastel Orguellous* story which suggested the important figure of Galehault, prince of Soreloise, in the *Lancelot*? Like the *Riche Soudoier* he is remarkable for his personal beauty, and great height; he is '*fis d'une géante*,' and is strongly opposed to Arthur. Lancelot, at the great tournament held between Galehault and Arthur, leaves the King's side, and goes over to Galehault, on the secret condition that, when Arthur's means of resistance are exhausted, Galehault shall yield to him. The King and his men are in despair at the loss of their most valiant champion, *le Chevalier Noir*, and correspondingly rejoiced at discovering the real cause of his apparent desertion. The *Lancelot* certainly borrowed much from the *Gawain* tradition, and the evident importance of the *Chastel Orguellous* story in early Arthurian romance appears to warrant at least the suggestion.

Galeron of Galloway, whose land, conquered by Arthur, has been given by him to his nephew. After an undecided combat between the two, it is agreed that Gawayne shall surrender Galloway, on condition of receiving Glamorgan, and the surrounding lands. This is an interesting testimony to the tradition of Gawain's association with Galloway, preserved in the *Chastel Merveilleus* story.

The Weddynge of Syr Gawayne, a story of which several versions are extant, relates the marriage, through loyalty, of the hero with a hideous hag, who subsequently proves to be a maiden of surpassing beauty. We have seen that the Wauchier-*Perceval* text also contains a parallel to this, but so briefly related that it is plain that the compiler was at a loss what to make of his theme.

The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne is a fragmentary version of the adventure of Gawain with the sister of Brandelis, here called 'Syr Brandles.' As it only opens with the arrival of the father, it is not easy to say whether it agreed in the main with the version given by Gawain himself at the castle of Brandelis, or with that given earlier in the *Brun de Branlant* tale; it seems more in harmony with this latter. The conclusion agrees with neither, for in the English fragment the lady, instead of living in honour at her brother's castle, is driven out by him and goes 'wandering to and fro.' Gawain apparently never meets her again. This fragment, which is very late (sixteenth century), is obviously a confused rendering of the English tradition, for as we know from Malory the lady bore two, if not three, sons to Gawain. [1]

[1] Cf. Malory, Book XIX. chap. xi. In the incident of Sir Urre of Hungary we hear of Gawain's three sons, Sir Gyngalyn, Sir Florence, and Sir Lovel, 'these two were begotten upon Sir Brandiles's sister;

Apart from this collection, but connected with it, we have the poem of *Syr Libeaus Desconus*, which relates the adventures of Gawain's son, who is here said to have been 'begotten by a forest side,' and whose name of *Libeaus Desconus* is bestowed upon him by Arthur, both traits which agree with the statement of Wauchier.

Now it cannot be owing to mere chance that so large a proportion of our somewhat scanty Arthurian vernacular literature should find a parallel in one French text. It is not as if the stories were so popular, and so widely diffused, that versions of them might be met with on every hand, when their occurrence here in a collected form might be merely fortuitous, but some, like the sister of Brandelis, are found nowhere else, others, like the *Grene Knyghte* (to which there is a parallel in the *Mule sans Frein* and *Gauvain et Humbert*), occur under widely different circumstances. I would submit that, taking into consideration the fact that the *Gawain* text used by Wauchier was obviously a very old one, that it contained a large number of stories, not all of which are here related, and that it was derived, as he expressly says, from an insular source, that we are dealing in the *Perceval*, the *Elucidation*, and *Syr Gawayne*, with one and the same collection of tales, which in the English versions have largely retained their primitive character, and attribution, and were known as the *Geste of Syr Gawayne*, their authorship being ascribed to Bleheris.

here Malory seems by implication to accept the tradition of the *Weddynge of Syr Gawayne* which makes the 'Loathly Lady,' Dame Ragnell, the mother of Gawain's best known son, Gyngalyn, or Guinglain; but the *Libeaus Desconus* refers to him as '*begotten by a forest side*,' which would indicate the Lady of Lys as his mother. Gawain is said to have been '*wedded oft in his days*,' and there may well be some confusion in the tradition.

That the reverse cannot be the case, and the English romances be drawn, as has been suggested for certain individual examples, from the *Perceval* is, I think, certain. Gawain is undoubtedly a far older Arthurian hero than Perceval, Lancelot, or Tristan. A group of poems which regard him as the exclusive protagonist is *prima facie* likely to be earlier than a similar group in which he shares the honours with one or more of these knights. The English poems are not all of one date, or one authorship, but were composed at different periods, and, judging from the dialect, in different parts of this island. It is scarcely likely that a number of individual writers, widely separated in time and place, should all have looked for inspiration to one text, a text moreover to which our literature presents no other parallel. We have nothing corresponding in any way to the *Perceval* sections of Wauchier.

Again, certain of the stories, *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte*, and *The Weddynge of Syr Gawayne*, are far superior in the English form, and correspond closely with primitive Irish tales.

When to all this we add the distinct statement that the authority whence Wauchier drew was *nés e engenuīs en Gales* we have a body of evidence in favour of the contention advanced above, the force of which cannot any longer be ignored. I believe it will eventually be recognised that in the three texts here compared, the Wauchier-*Perceval*, the *Elucidation*, and the English *Gawain* poems, we have a precious survival of the earliest collected form of Arthurian romantic tradition.

CHAPTER XII

THE AUTHOR

WHO then was the author of this collection? Wauchier's statement is, as we have seen, explicit on this point, he was a certain Bleheris of Welsh birth, who appears to have enjoyed the patronage of a Count of Poitiers:

'Deviser vos voel sa faiture,
si com le conte Bleheris
qui fu nés e engenüis
en Gales dont je cont le conte
e qui si le contoit au conte
de Poitiers qui amoit l'estoire
e le tenoit en grant memoire
plus que nul autre ne faisoit.'[1]

At an early point, *i.e.* at the conclusion of the *Chastel Orguellous* adventure, the same authority is cited:

'Ainz mes li rois tant ne conquist
si come Bleheris nos dist.[2]

Variants of this latter passage give the name as Bleobleheris and Bliobliheri, clearly showing that these names are identical.

[1] B. N. Add. 36,614, fo. 241 *vo.*

[2] B. N. 794, fo. 419 *vo.*; *ibia.*, 1453, fo. 113; B. N. Add. 36,614, fo. 138 *vo.*

How are we to account for this apparently double form?

The *Elucidation*, as we have seen, gives as authority for the mysterious, and occult, character of the Grail story one 'Maistre Blihis,' while the knight who initiates Arthur and his court into the secret of the maidens of the wells, the Fisher King's court, and the seven branches of the Grail, is Blihos Bliheris (in two words) a very curious coincidence! My view is simply that Blihis, or Blehis, is but a shortened form of the original name, which, by the error of a copyist has become attached to the un-shortened form. If the two names were once put together the softening of *s* into *o* before the second *b* would, in time, almost certainly follow.

In the article in *Romania* previously alluded to, I also suggested that Bleheris could hardly be other than Bledhericus, the 'famosus ille fabulator,' referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis, and already identified by the late M. Gaston Paris with the Breri, quoted by Thomas as the authority for his *Tristan*.[1]

The first identification has been considerably strengthened by the subsequent discovery of the passage quoted above. The fact that Bleheris was a Welshman renders it practically certain that he was the same as Bledhericus; there would scarcely be two Welsh story-tellers of such similar name. The evidence for the identity with Breri is also strengthened, if less definitely.

[1] *Romania*, vol. viii. p. 425. Cf. also M. Ferd. Lot's note on 'Bledericus de Cornwall,' *Romania*, xxviii. p. 336. The name appears to have been distinctly insular in origin. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions Bledericus, a Duke of Cornwall, and there was also, as we shall see, a Bishop of Llandaff. M. Lot had found no instance of the name occurring in Armorica.

Thomas asserts of this latter that he knew:

'— les gestes et les cuntes
de tuz les reis de tuz les cuntes
qui orent esté en Bretaingne.'

Of the Blihos-Bliheris of the *Elucidation*, whom we now have reason to suppose represents a real personality, we are told that he:

'si tres bons contes savoit
que nus ne se peüst lasser
de ses paroles escouter.'

Bledhericus was 'famosus ille fabulator.' Are not all these reminiscences of one and the same personality?

Granted, then, that Bleheris was a real historical personage, and of that I think there can now be no reasonable doubt, the important question is, can we in any way fix his date?

The only evidence on this point is that of Giraldus,[1] who says of him 'qui tempora nostra paulo praevenit.' This may mean anything, from a few decades to a century. M. Gaston Paris, in his note on the subject, suggested the early years of the twelfth century, a date I was at first disposed to accept, but on further consideration I do not think it will be found early enough. It is a remarkable fact that, although the name in its compound form meets us constantly, it is always in that compound form, and always as one of Arthur's knights, not as the name of a real personage. The two allusions in Wauchier are the

[1] *Descriptio Cambriae*, chap. xvii., quoted in the article on Breri, referred to above. It is noteworthy that Giraldus says *our* not *my* time: this latter might indicate the ordinary length of a lifetime, some fifty to seventy years; the former may mean anything.

only texts which enable us to identify the original form of the name, or the concrete existence of the person.

Now, I would submit that if a story-teller of the manifest popularity and importance of Bleheris had really lived in the early years of the twelfth century, that is, but a generation before the Arthurian stories became the staple theme of romantic elaboration, it is in the highest degree unlikely that we should have so little direct testimony as to his existence and work, while at the same time his name should be so frequently met with as that of a fictitious personage. It is found, *e.g.* in the list of knights given in Chrétien's *Erec*, so far the earliest of our Arthurian romances. If we reflect a little on the evidence which has been presented in these pages, evidence which distinctly tends to prove the evolution of a vast body of Arthurian romantic tradition previous to Chrétien's time, if we further reflect that the particular stories with which the name of Bleheris is associated belong, alike by their subject matter, and their style—*e.g.* their constant appeals to an audience—to the earliest stage of romantic literature, we must, I think, decide that whatever the exact period at which Bleheris lived, it was at a date sufficiently remote for but fragmentary records of himself and his work to have survived to the end of the twelfth century.

I have, so far, been able to discover nothing definite or decisive; what I have found I here offer for the consideration of scholars. Bale, in his *Catalogue of British Authors*,[1]

[1] Edition of 1559, vol. ii. p. 31. The passage is quoted by Leroux de Lincey, in his *Essaye sur Fescamp*, where it first attracted my attention. I am indebted to Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, the editor of Bale's *Note Book*, for the verification and correction of the text.

under the tenth century, quotes from Vincent de Beauvais as follows: 'Eremita quidam Britannus, cujus ignoratur nomen, inter Cambros natus, et ab ipsa infantia nutritus, post prima literarum studia astrorum scientiam una cum historia Bardorum illius regionis more per omnem aetatem coluit. De rebus in sua patria insigniter gestis ille multa collegit, ac non parva labore literis mandavit: praecipue de illustrissimo Britannorum rege Arthuro, atque ejus mensa rotunda. De Lanceloto etiam, Morgano, Percevallo, Galyvano, Bertramo, et aliis fortissimis hominibus multa tradidit; sed famam ipse suam vehementer laesit, quod seriis inepta et veris fabulosa nonnulla admiscuerit; et ut recitat in Historiali Speculo Vincentius, "De Josepho Arimathensi" ad Vualwanum quendam pleraque scripsit. Opus vocant ignoto mihi sermone.—*Sanctum Graal*, lib 1. Et eius operis fragmenta quaedam vidi. Claruit, iuxta Vincentium, anno ab Christi nativitate. 720, regnante Ina Visisaxonum rege.'

Now there is here certainly a confusion of authorities. I have carefully consulted more than one edition of Vincent de Beauvais, and can find no such statement as Bale attributes to him. But he does quote the well-known passage of Helinandus, although he does not say that the hermit referred to by him lived under Ina.

Is Bale referring to Helinandus? I think not. Had he been familiar with that text he would have been in no doubt as to what the words *Sanctum Graal* meant; the one thing Helinandus does clearly tell us is the meaning of that term. Nor in Helinandus is there any mention of Arthur and his knights. I do not think there can be much doubt that here Bale has confused his authorities, and

attributed to Vincent the statement of some other chronicler. As he distinctly says he had seen fragments of the book in question, there must be some element of fact at the root of his statement.[1]

Now there are certain points in this description which appear to connect the anonymous writer alike with Bleheris and Bledhericus. Like the first, he was 'inter Cambros natus'; like the second, he was 'Fabulator.' But whatever the precise value of the passage, it appears to offer clear evidence of the belief, on the part of thirteenth century writers, of the existence of an early collection Arthurian tales, and their conviction that they were drawing ultimately, upon insular sources.

But if Bleheris really compiled his stories at so early a date, could he have come in contact with a Count of Poitiers?

At the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century there was certainly a Count of Poitiers[2] who, of all the princes of his day, would have been, perhaps, the most likely to be a patron of literature. Guillaume le Grand, 990-1029, was one of the most distinguished princes in Europe. He was treated by all the contemporary sovereigns as their equal; the King of England, among others, was in the habit of offering him annual

[1] It may be of interest to the Arthurian scholar to have the references to Vincent de Beauvais' allusions to the legend. Book xx. chap. 56 gives an account of Arthur's wars, his sword, and shield, with a footnote giving references to the chronicles which record his deeds. Book xxi. chap. 74, the passing of Arthur. Book xxiii. chap. 147, the quotation from Helinandus. These references are to the edition of 1624, *Bibliotheca Mundi*, vol. iv.

[2] *L'Art de verifier les Dates*, vol. ii. p. 354. Cf. also *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*: Alfred Richard, 1903.

gifts. The crown of Italy was offered to, and refused by, him. Guillaume was the Mæcenas of his age, and it is recorded of him that he never retired to rest without having devoted the first hours of the night to study. It must be admitted, however, that Guillaume le Grand's interest appears to have been directed rather to classical and ecclesiastical than to popular literature.

The second Count of Poitiers who would fulfil our requirements is Guillaume VII., 1086-1126. This prince was himself a poet of no mean attainments, and has been called the first of the Troubadours. M. Richard says of him that he was the first to give distinction and form to the popular songs.[1] In character he was certainly more akin to the knights of Arthurian romance than was his predecessor. He is said to have devoted his time *à parcourir le monde, et à tromper les femmes.*

Now it is an interesting fact that the first-named Count Guillaume le Grand had for contemporary the Bishop of Llandaff, referred to in a previous note (p. 289), and this bishop, if tradition may be relied on, was no mean scholar.

I am indebted to Professor Rhys for the following information :—

Bledri was elected by the Kings of Morgannuc and all the clergy and the people; he received the *baculus* at the royal court from the hand of the highest king of the English, Ethelred, and was consecrated by the metropolitan of the church of Canterbury, Archbishop Albric, A.D. 983.[2]

Here is what is said of his death :—

'Christ's Age 1023, there died Morgynnydd, David's

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 503.

[2] *Book of Llandav*, p. 252.

bishop, and Bledri Teilo's bishop, chiefest scholar of the land of Cymri; for that reason was he called Bledri the Wise. So well did he love sciences that he put it on the priests that they should maintain the learning of books of literature, each in his own church, to the end that everybody should know what he owed as regards God and men.'[1]

Unfortunately Iolo is by no means a reliable authority, and so far Professor Rhys has not succeeded in discovering the original text; but there must be a foundation of fact for so definite and detailed a statement. If we bear in mind the rôle played by the Irish ecclesiastics, such as Cormac of Cashel, Flann of Monasterloin, and Finn of Kildare (for whom the Book of Leinster was compiled), and remember the part played in the evolution of our own literature by churchmen, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Walter Map, we shall realise that Bledri of Llandaff might well have been at once a bishop, a collector of national legends, and a 'fabulator.' On the other hand, it is also possible, and perhaps even more probable, that a later Welsh bard may have versified traditions collected under the auspices of the famous bishop, and made them known to the Troubadour Count of Poitiers.

The evidence on the subject, though fragmentary, is suggestive, and now that it has been made public, may we not hope that some student of historical records will feel moved to devote some attention to the subject? For the evolution of the Arthurian legends, the Welsh story-teller and his French patron are to the full as interesting,

[1] Quoted from *Brut y Tywysogion*, by Iolo Morgannug, in the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 505.

and I dare to say more important, than Chrétien de Troyes and his patron count.

In what language were the tales transcribed, or recited? We have little or no evidence on this point. From the verbal correspondence existing between Wauchier and the *Elucidation*, it seems clear that the two writers must have had access to a French version, or rather to French versions, of the tales, for Wauchier's text was certainly not the same as that before the author of the *Elucidation*. Also, there are indications that some of our English Arthurian poems, notably *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte*, had a French source at root. The tales connected with the name of Bleheris were certainly originally of folk-lore character, whether a bishop gave them a more literary form—perhaps wrote them down in Latin,[1] as in the case of the folk-tale of *Arthur and Gorlagon*, so happily discovered by Professor Kittredge—or whether a minstrel told them as he heard them, and later copyists gave them a more finished form, it is at the present moment impossible to tell. Mere conjecture is of

[1] In Bale's *Note Book* there is the following list of Arthurian romances:

Libri de rege Arturo sunt isti.
Liber de sede periculoso.
Liber de sepulcro incognito.
Liber de Milite Leonis.
Liber de Milite Quadrige.
De Percevallo.
De Lanceloto de lacu.
De Galguano.
Et alii infiniti, etc.

As Bale systematically translated the titles of the works he was quoting, these romances were not necessarily in Latin, but the list is

little value. For the moment we must rest content with the ascertained facts that there was a story-teller of Welsh birth named Bleheris, who was the source whence Wauchier de Denain drew much of the subject matter of his *Perceval*, and that he had for patron a Count of Poitiers. We may hope that future investigation may reveal more.

interesting, as it does not correspond to any extant collection (*Note Book*, App. II. p. 476).

I give the entries which immediately precede and follow the list:

Liber sextus de floribus historiarum a Christi Nativitate usque ad annum Domini 1234.
Ex commentario prophecie Merlini.

Dr. Lane Poole tells me he has vainly endeavoured to identify this latter entry.

CHAPTER XIII

BRUN DE BRANLANT

THIS section, which extends from l. 11,597 to 12,450 of M. Potvin's edition, is in itself decidedly lacking in interest; save for the adventure of Gawain with the sister of Brandelis, which is given in a picturesque and detailed fashion distinctly at variance with the setting; the recital is dry, compressed, and hurried in treatment, more than half of the entire length, 530 out of 853 lines, being devoted to the episode referred to.

Briefly sketched, the section deals with Arthur's expedition against a recalcitrant noble, Brun de Branlant, who, like the 'Riche Soudoier' of Chastel Orguellous, refuses to acknowledge his over-lordship. In the general treatment of the section, the MSS. of all the groups are in practical accord: the siege lasts a considerable time, twice the city is on the point of yielding through famine, when the intervention first of Ywain and Gawain, secondly of Ywain alone (whose hearts have been touched by the appeal cleverly made to their chivalry by two maidens of the city, Lore de Branlant, and her cousin Ysmaine), procures from Arthur the partial re-victualling of the garrison. On the second occasion a sortie in search of further provisions leads to the severe wounding of Gawain, and it is on his recovery from this wound that his meeting with the lady of

Lys takes place. Arthur divides the land into three parts, each dominated by a stronghold, the guardianship of which he respectively commits to Tor fis Ares, Giflet fis Do, and to Gawain.

But examined in detail there are some interesting variants. The most important texts for this section are those represented by groups A and C; while deriving evidently from the same original the two groups have selected differently, A treating the episode of Gawain and the lady of Lys more in detail, while C has preserved certain characteristic touches relative to the siege, omitted by A. The list of knights and ladies of the court who accompany the expedition, omitted by Mons and B. N. 1453, presents some features of interest, *e.g.* where Montpellier gives the name of a certain Broc de Goïnnec, B. N. 1429, which as a rule agrees with Montpellier, gives Bron de Gomeret, a variant worth noting.[1]

Again the majority of MSS. give the name of the second maiden of Branlant as Ysave de Carahes. Now this lady, mother to Carados, belongs to Arthur's court, and her name is always included in the list of those accompanying the king and queen; I think here that the version of B. N. 12,576, which gives the name as Ysmaine, is correct, and that the confusion arose from the mistake of some copyist, who, unfamiliar with the original name, replaced it with the better known Ysave.

Again, 12,576, when recounting the appeal of Ywain to the King (the first, that made jointly by Ywain and Gawain, being always very briefly treated), and the liberality with which Kay, who as seneschal is intrusted with the carrying out of the King's orders, interprets his commission, seizes

[1] Cf. note in M. Potvin's edition.

the opportunity for a defence of the generally unpopular seneschal, curiously akin to that found in the *Parzival*.

'ci ne fu mie Kex vilains
ne desloiaus ne pesecheus
si suet il estre aatius
mais au besoing est il vaillans
e vigureus e bien aidans
a son ami e pres e loing.
sachiez que por voir le tesmoing
qu'il fit mainte grant proece
en son tans, e mainte larguece.'[1]

The building of the castles by Arthur is placed, as a rule, at the commencement of the siege, but by Mons at a later stage. Group C insists much on the importance of the city, *moult estoit d'antiquité*, and contained five bishoprics. The passage given in Mons (ll. 11,655-65), which states that Arthur raises the siege each year from August to the octave of Pentecost, is quite wrong; the correct reading is from Lent to the octave; as the land is, through the three castles referred to above, practically in the hands of Arthur's knights, the position is much clearer than appears in Mons.

In connection with the continuance of the siege, which is generally represented as lasting for seven years, the MSS. of group C have retained a most interesting passage; more than once, referring to the importance of the undertaking, they remark:—

'Saignor baron, bien est sèu
dou roi Artus quex hom il fu,
et com il sejorna .VII. ans
au riche siege de Brulant (or Branlant).'[2]

[1] B. N. 12,576, fo. 45. Cf. *Parzival*, Book VI. ll. 493-539.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1429, fo. 95.

In another place they agree in saying that the siege lasted seven years :—

'— si com trouve avons
es livres que leu avons.'[1]

I am inclined to think, from the character of the lines first quoted, which have the rhythm, and in some texts the recurrence, of a refrain, that the story of Brun de Branlant was originally an independent, and popular tale, which has been inserted, *tant bien que mal*, in the *Perceval.*

But why was it so inserted? Probably I think on account of the latter part of the section, the adventure of Gawain with the sister of Brandelis to which the siege proper now forms merely the introductory setting.

The *Chastel Orguellous* compilation contains, as we have seen, the conclusion of the story, the outcome of the enmity with Brandelis, and the reunion of Gawain with his mistress ; the circumstances of the original meeting are there related by Gawain, who gives a version differing widely from the one here preserved, and apparently much less creditable to himself. The contradictory character of these versions, incapable as they are of being harmonised, has been an important factor in encouraging the view of the existence of a pseudo-Wauchier, and is one of the arguments relied upon by Waitz to prove the priority of the version of B. N. 794. The question demands more detailed attention than it has as yet received.

Briefly summarised the two versions run as follows. In the *Brun de Branlant* section Gawain, severely wounded in the sortie already referred to, lies ill for a period varying from two to six months. Convalescent, he sees one morn-

[1] Montpellier, fo. 75·

ing, as he lies in his tent, his steed, Gringalet, being led back from watering, and a desire for action takes possession of him. He rises from his couch, arms himself, and rides out of the camp. A messenger runs with the tidings to Arthur, who promptly follows his nephew, and orders his return. Gawain explains that he has no intention of undertaking any warlike expedition, but merely seeks diversion, and will return ere long. Satisfied with his promise Arthur leaves him.

According to group A, Gawain rides for two days without adventure, and on the third comes to a woodland glade, a tent, and a fair maiden. In B. N. 12,577, and apparently in Mons, the incident occurs on the first day. On saluting the lady she returns greeting first to Gawain, then to her interlocutor. On being asked why she does so, she says that she holds Gawain (whom she has never seen) for the most valiant of knights, and asks the name of the new comer. On learning his identity, she hesitates to accept his statement till she has proved it by comparing his features with those of a portrait of Gawain, embroidered on silk by a 'Sarrazine' in the household of the Queen. Satisfied by this proof that this is indeed Gawain, she frankly offers herself to the knight she has loved from afar, an offer which Gawain *more suo* promptly accepts. They spend some hours together, and then Gawain departs, promising to return, and escort her to his uncle's court. He has not gone far when the father of the lady (whose name is variously given as Norres, Morres, or Gran de Lis) rides up, and salutes his daughter as 'maiden,' a salutation to which she makes no response. Addressing her again as 'daughter,' she replies that she is indeed his daughter, but no longer a maiden. The father demands the name

of her ravisher, and she tells him Gawain has been with her :—

'mon pucelage anporte o lui
piece a que vos avoie dit
qu'il l'auroit sans contredit.'[1]

Enraged, the father pursues Gawain, fights with, and is mortally wounded by him. In the meantime a brother, Bran de Lis, arrives, and the same scene is repeated. He, too, pursues Gawain, whom he accuses of having slain alike his father and his uncle, Melians de Lis. They fight long, and, Gawain's wounds breaking out again, defer the completion of their combat to their next meeting, Bran de Lis vowing to attack Gawain, armed or unarmed, whenever and wherever he may find him. They part, and Gawain returns to the camp, lying ill for weeks before his wounds are healed.

The second version, that contained in the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation, tells how Arthur and his knights, *en route* for that stronghold, arrive all unwitting at the castle of Lys. Gawain, while at meat, sees and recognises the shield of his enemy, as it hangs in an adjoining chamber. Rising, he arms himself, and thus awaits developments. Arthur, perplexed at his conduct, demands an explanation, and though conjured to continue his meal refuses to eat till it has been given. Gawain then recalls to his mind the incident of his departure from court, under the circumstances related above, but gives his adventure with the lady in quite another form. He found her slumbering, and, struck by her beauty, seated himself by her side. On her awaking he demanded her favours, and

[1] B. N. 794, fo. 401 *vo.*

on her refusal to grant them took his will by force, despite her lamentations.

Her brother, Melians de Lis, arrived on the scene, and though Gawain expressed his intention of marrying his sister, insisted on fighting with him, and was slain. The father next appeared, and shared the same fate. Finally came the younger brother, Bran, who on hearing what had chanced, said had he been the first he would have accepted Gawain's offer; now father and brother being slain, he has no choice save to avenge them. The conclusion of the episode agrees with the first version.

It will be seen that the two accounts differ radically; they agree only in the fact of Gawain's amour with the lady, and in the detail that he has slain two of her kinsmen; in the one instance the victims are father and uncle, in the other father and brother; but though the relationship varies, the name of the second is always Melians.

The two versions are given in full with all their contradictions by B. N. 12,576, 12,577, Nouv. Acq. 6614, Edinburgh and Mons. B. N. 794 and B. M. Add. 36,614 give the story in each case at full length; but in the form of the *Brun de Branlant* section, which we will call *b*, B. N. 1453, which as a rule harmonises with Mons, compresses Gawain's recital, but gives it in a form agreeing with *b*; Montpellier and B. N. 1429, instead of agreeing with the other MSS. of group C, compress version *b*, only saying that Gawain rode forth, and met, and fought with, three knights of the house of Liz—Melians de Lis, his brother, and Bran de Lis—and give the second *Chastel Orguellous* version, which we will call *o*, in full.[1]

[1] Cf. note to M. Potvin's edition, l. 11,986.

How are we to explain this confusion and discrepancy of statement? I do not think that the view taken by Waitz, that version *b* represents the original form, preserved by B. N. 794, and B. M. Add. 36,614 (which, as we have seen, almost certainly derive from the same parent MS.), and arbitrarily changed in the majority of the versions, can, in the face of the evidence of all the texts, be maintained. The evidence of Montpellier, and B. N. 1429, seems to me to point in another direction. It seems more probable that the stories derive from two distinct sources, and that the contradiction is inherent in the original forms, while the version of B. N. 794, and its companion text, equally with that of Montpellier, and its double, represent two different attempts at harmonising that contradiction.

The important question is, of course, which of the two forms, *b* or *o*, is the older? At first sight we might feel inclined to decide in favour of *b*, which shows Gawain's conduct in a distinctly more favourable light.

But here we have to take into consideration the character of the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation. As we have already seen, it is devoted to the glorification of Gawain and his kin; it is he, and none other, who is the true hero of this section of the *Perceval*. It is alike inconceivable that a story to his discredit should have been admitted into the collection, or that one originally favourable to him should here have been deliberately altered for the worse.

There appears to me to be one solution, and one only, which can meet the difficulties of the case, *i.e.* that the tale in question is a survival from a much earlier, more primitive, and non-chivalric social condition, where, given the ultimate consent of the lady and her kin (Bran de Lis, had he been first on the scene, would have been quite content

that Gawain should wed his sister, and the lady herself bears no ill-will to her ravisher, but is delighted to meet him again), such conduct would be held no reproach to the hero.

There are indications that the story may possibly be such a survival. We have already had abundant evidence of the general character, folk-lore, rather than literary, of the tales included in the *Chastel Orguellous* group, and I think it not improbable that this particular tale may be of Celtic origin. Lys, or Llys, is but the Welsh for castle, and it is worth noting that while the title is written Lis when used as a family name, *e.g.* Bran de Lis, when the castle is referred to the original *y* is always retained. Bran is certainly a Celtic name, while that of Norres, or Morres, given to the father, is as certainly not French.[1]

The whole of the *Brun de Branlant* section is later, and less original in tone than the *Chastel Orguellous*; judging from the refrain quoted above, it existed in a separate and independent form. I see nothing against its having been a later working over of the original theme, inserted here in order to supply the omissions of *Chastel Orguellous*, which only alludes to the famous siege, and also to provide a version of Gawain's conduct more in accordance with his fame as mirror of courtesy, and, as our English *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte* puts it, 'fine father of nurture.' We are very apt to forget that the knights of Arthur's court are not knights *ab origine*, but bear about them the signs and tokens of an earlier state: Perceval's uncouthness, Tristan's shameless mendacity, Gawain's facile morality, are apparent blots upon their perfect knighthood; but it is not as knights, or even as

[1] Cf. M. Ferd. Lot, 'Celtica,' *Romania*, vol. xxiv. p. 322.

Arthurian heroes, that such qualities belong to them; they are legacies from an earlier mythic stage, and are precious indications of the original form and significance of their legends.

If the above suggested interpretation be correct, the variants of the texts become comprehensible. As we have seen before, B. N. 12,576 represents our best and most complete text; B. N. 12,577 and Edinburgh are the best representatives of a group which has retained many striking and most valuable original passages. These three give both versions in full, *i.e.* they have taken over the *Brun de Branlant* story, in the form current at the time, without omission, or alteration. B. N. 1429, and Montpellier, which belong to the same group as 12,577 and Edinburgh, have avoided the contradiction by adhering to the version given in the earlier, and more primitive, group of *Gawain* stories, and modify, by compression, the *b* form. The original at the root of B. N. 794, and B. M. Add. 36,614, followed the reverse plan, and altered the earlier *o* form to agree with *b*.

It is interesting to note that in the adventures drawn by Chrétien from the *Chastel Merveilleus* poem, we find Gawain connected with Melians de Lis. When we remember, too, that it is at the Castle of Lys that Guinglain has been brought up, we shall, I think, have good ground for believing that we are here touching a connecting thread between the earlier and later *Gawain* tradition of no small interest and importance.

The *Perceval* texts, in the form in which they have reached us, are in the highest degree confused and perplexing, but it seems to me that the one safe guide through the labyrinth is to regard them not as representing an

original and homogeneous composition, but rather a compilation drawn from sources differing widely in date and origin, and thrown together with little or no attempt to harmonise their naturally conflicting statements. Also we must remember that in the section due to Wauchier the dominant personality is that of Gawain, rather than of the titular hero, Perceval, and that consequently it is to the legends connected with the former that we must look for a clue to guide us through the maze. I see no reason why, apart from the adventure of Gawain and the lady of Lys, this particular section should ever have found its way into the *Perceval*. Both in this case and in that of the following *Carados* interpolation, there is practically no connection with the main thread of the story, the presence alike of one and the other ruins the chronology, and may be held very largely responsible for the intricate problems which have hitherto baffled the Arthurian scholar. In the succeeding chapter we will examine the *Carados* section, and see whether the suggestion here made as to the reasons for the introduction of the *Brun de Branlant* episodes throw any light upon the kindred problem.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CARADOS BOOK

'*Hie vohet Karados Buoch an*,' with these words Wisse and Colin head this part of their translation of the *Perceval*, and bearing in view the importance of the incidents, and the length at which they are told, it seems to me that so appropriate a title may well be preserved. In M. Potvin's edition the *Carados* section extends from l. 12,451 to l. 15,795, and in the MSS. containing the account of the tournament at Arthur's court, and the final episode of the coronation of Carados and his wife, it runs to considerably greater length. In B. N. 12,576 it occupies about 2000 lines more than in Mons, and Montpellier exceeds this by over 600 lines.

This lengthy interpolation falls into a series of well-defined episodes. It commences with (*a*) the marriage of King Carados of Vannes with Ysave of Carahes, and the deception practised upon the bridegroom by the magician lover of the lady, the result being that Carados, reputed son and heir to the King, is in truth the son of the magician.

We then have (*b*) the chivalric training of Carados at the court of Arthur, to which he has been sent by his parents, his admission to the order of knighthood; the arrival of a mysterious stranger with the Head-cutting challenge, addressed to the knights of the court and

accepted by Carados, and final revelation of the true story of his birth. In this section we may include the return of the hero to Vannes, and the punishment inflicted by the King on his faithless wife. Then follows (*c*) the return of Carados to England, his first meeting with Guimier, and presence at the great Tournament. (*d*) Relates the retaliation practised, by the advice of Carados on the magician, with the subsequent revenge, conceived and carried out by the Queen. (*e*) His release from the serpent by the self-devotion of Guimier. (*f*) The meeting with Aalardin du Lac, and the healing by magical means of the wound received by Guimier in the act of deliverance. (*g*) The *Lai du Cor*, chastity test, from which, thanks to his wife, Carados emerges triumphant. We have thus a complete series of stories, forming, as it were, a cycle within a cycle, and extending over a period of upwards of twenty years, from the marriage of the hero's parents to his coronation as King of Vannes.

But the MSS. are not at one in their treatment of the episodes. All give a practically identical version of (*a*) and (*b*), though the details in some texts are fuller than others. (*c*) is frequently omitted. (*d*) is always present, but the circumstances attendant on Carados's torture by the serpent, his flight into the woods, and discovery by Cador after two years' search, vary greatly in treatment. The concluding sections, (*e*), (*f*), and (*g*), are present in all versions, but the succession of Carados to the throne, and the coronation of himself and his wife, are only given by group C.

The classification of the texts is here somewhat different: B. N. 12,576, Nouv. Acq. 6614, and the translation of Wisse and Colin indeed agree, as usual, but here B. N.

1429, and Edinburgh go with them. These five give the cycle at full length. B. N. 794, B. M. Add. 36,614, and B. N. 1453, give a shortened version, omitting (*c*), and giving (*d*) and (*e*) in a very condensed form. B. N. 12,577 and Mons hold a midway position, the former gives (*c*) in full, but follows the shorter version for (*d*) and (*e*), introducing Guimier in a manner quite inconsistent with her previous appearance on the scene. Mons gives the first part of (*c*) the meeting with Guimier, but omits the Tournament, and gives (*d*) and (*e*) in the shorter form.

Waitz has devoted a considerable part of his study on the continuations of Chrétien to the *Carados* section, using it as an argument for the supposed priority of the version of B. N. 794. From this conclusion I dissent absolutely and entirely. As I have remarked in a note to chapter i., I hold it a mistaken and misleading method to utilise a secondary and interpolated section as argument for the original form of the primary setting; it is *prima facie* more probable that such a cycle would only be taken over after it had attained a popularity and importance comparable, in a measure, with that to which it is affiliated. As a matter of fact the MSS. which give the collection in a complete and detailed form are, with respect to other portions of the *Perceval* compilation, superior to those which only present the shorter.

The question appears to be a very simple one—which version is the more coherent, the longer or the shorter? Does the longer show redundancy, and unnecessary detail, or does the shorter show compression, injuring the sense and significance of the story? *e.g.* in the case of the Joseph of Arimathea passage in the *Gawain-Grail* visit, though it occurs in the majority of the MSS. it is easy to

decide that it is an interpolation foreign to the original story, as its presence contradicts the point of the tale, *i.e.* that Gawain has not asked, or learnt, the meaning of the talisman; the story is more coherent without it. Here the reverse is the case: it will be evident to any one carefully studying the *ensemble* of the texts that the compression exercised by B. N. 794 seriously interferes with the intelligibility of the story. We do not understand in the first instance how Carados, whose birth at Vannes has been recorded, finds himself at Arthur's court at the moment of his knighting. The longer texts explain how at the age of four he was committed to the care of tutors, and when he knew Latin and *belement parler*, was sent by his parents to his kinsman Arthur for the perfecting of his chivalric training. Again, when after the imprisonment of the Queen her magician lover continues to visit her in the tower in which she is confined, and the revelry they hold becomes a scandal to the country, her husband the King in perplexity sends to England for Carados, we are not told how it comes about that Carados is again absent. Why is he in England, and what is he doing there? The longer versions, which here relate his meeting with Guimier and the Tournament, explain fully, and this explanation is imperatively needed when later on Cador comes to the aid of his friends, how are they friends, and under what circumstances had they been *compagnons*? The shorter version brings him on the scene with the bald statement:—

> 'mes sor tous les autres sanz falle
> l'amoit Cador de Cornoalle
> que par foi erent compagnon.'[1]

[1] Cf. Potvin, ll. 15,239-41. It may be noted that there is never any

Again in the shorter version, the introduction of Guimier and her relation to Carados are abrupt and far from clear:—

'une suer i ot ce m'est vis
Cador mult bele et avenant
que Carados par ama tant.'[1]

In the longer version Guimier is represented as saying it is only her duty to risk her life for Carados, as he put his in jeopardy for her, which clearly connects her action with the earlier part of (*c*), her rescue by the hero from Aalardin du Lac. It seems probable that the tale was originally given at even greater length, for the MSS. of group C enlarge considerably on her grief, as for example B. N. 1429.

'mais je vos di que a nul fuer
ne departiroient lor cuer
qui que fuie, qui que remaingne,
que li uns a l'autre ne maingne,
o Guimier remest Quarados
et Guimier fuit o lui en bos.'[2]

On the hypothesis of a gradual development of this section after its introduction into the *Perceval*, it is difficult to explain the presence in all the texts of the *Lai du Cor*, which is but slightly connected with the main thread of the story, and only indirectly tends to the glorification of

conflict of testimony as to the identity of Carados's 'lady-love'; she is always Guimier 'of Cornwall,' thus he would naturally meet her in England and not in Vannes.

[1] Potvin, ll. 15,344-6.

[2] B. N. 1429, fo. 128 *vo.* Also Edinburgh 95 *vo.* A characteristic of group C is the frequent recurrence of the rhyme *Carados, arrière dos*, which is not found in the shorter version.

the hero; the real credit of his achievement being due to his wife. My own view is decidedly that the *Carados* compilation found its way into the *Perceval* in the form of a fully developed subsidiary cycle, and was subsequently cut down by copyists who found it too long, and too serious an interruption to the main current of the tale.

That the story group is in its origin considerably older than the present form of the *Perceval* is obvious to any student of folk-lore and story transmission. In a study on the 'Serpent' section Miss Harper has cited parallels drawn from popular Scottish tradition, and the late M. Gaston Paris, in a lengthy review[1] of this study, expressed his opinion that the stories forming the main part of the collection are Irish in origin. M. Ferd. Lot,[2] in a subsequent article, suggested certain corrections in this view, and concluded that the tales were North British, *i.e.* Scottish rather than Irish. M. Paris had suggested that two of the three mysterious animals engendered by the father of Carados, the boar Tortain and the horse Loragor, were identical with the famous boar of the Mabinogion, Twrch Twryth, said to be son to Prince Taredd, and Lluagor, the steed of Karadowc according to the Welsh Triads, and M. Lot has accepted this identification. Neither scholar has, however, noted the fact that in a large number of folk-tales the hero is aided at a crisis by three helpful animals, often associated with him from birth, *e.g.* they are born on the same day. I think there can be little doubt that in the original form of the *Carados* story these animals played some such rôle.[3]

[1] *Romania*, vol. xxviii. p. 212. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 568.

[3] M. Paris here apparently accepts Waitz's grouping of the versions, but at the same time points out that certain features of the longer redaction, as *e.g.* the above, must have formed part of the original tale.

But granting that the tales are alike primitive in character and insular in origin, how did they find their way into the *Perceval*?

Here I think section *b* supplies the clue; the opening episode is identical in all respects with that which introduces the *Chastel Orguellous* stories. Arthur and his knights are hunting in the woods, on their return the King rides by himself lost in thought. Gawain asks him of what he is thinking, and Arthur replies that it is over long since he held solemn court, and that at the next Pentecost he would repair his neglect. Gawain and Ywain applaud his determination, and Arthur asks if it shall be held:—

> 'a Carduel en mes maistres sales
> qui est en la marche de Gales
> et del roiaume d'Engletière.'[1]

Now this is precisely the introduction of the *Chastel Orguellous*, and as such we find it, at the conclusion of the *Carados*, repeated incident for incident, practically word for word. That it is in its rightful position in this latter connection, and not here, will, I think, be seen if the passages are carefully examined.

As an introduction to the knighting of Carados and subsequent testing of his valour, it is but ill managed; after the court has assembled we are told:—

> 'la grant chevalerie a jouste
> au jour que li rois les manda
> que il sa rice cort tenra;

[1] Cf. Potvin, ll. 12,520-97, with ll. 15,795-865. In this text Carduel has, in the second case, been altered to Carahent.

et voit Caradeu son neveu
si grant et si fort et si preu
que bien puet mais armes ballier
en la nuit le fist chevalier.'[1]

This haphazard introduction of the hero of the recital, so much at variance with the rôle he is destined to play, seems to me to negative the idea that the opening passage was composed for this special tale.

But in the later section of the story all proceeds smoothly and naturally. The court is assembled, all sit down to meat, when Arthur's glance falls on the one vacant seat, and he is poignantly reminded of the imprisonment of Giflet and the apparent indifference and carelessness of his brother knights.

If the introduction of the Carados book be significant, still more so is the adventure which follows, the appearance of the enchanter and the head-cutting challenge. No student of mediæval literature requires to be reminded that in our *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte* we possess an infinitely superior version of the same tale. Further, that in its earliest recoverable form it goes back to Irish heroic legend, and is thus almost certainly of Celtic and insular origin. Other variants of the same adventure are found in *Diu Crône*, *La Mule sans frein*, *Gauvain et Humbert*, and *Perlesvaus*, where the hero of the feat is Lancelot. There are also later English renderings, a fifteenth century working over of the *Grene Knyghte*, and a fragment entitled *The Turk and Gawain*. We have thus, in all, nine Arthurian versions of the theme, in seven of which Gawain is the hero. There can be little doubt that the story

[1] Potvin, ll. 12,598-604.

was originally connected with him, and not with either Carados or Lancelot.[1]

Now, as we have seen, the back-bone of the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation is the collection of *Gawain* poems, to which I have tentatively given the title of *The Geste of Sir Gawain*. I would ask, Is there any improbability in the suggestion that the English *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte* originally belonged to this collection, and that, having dropped out of the MS. used by Wauchier, or being only preserved in an incomplete form, it has been replaced by the *Carados* version of the tale? Whether the substitution were the work of Wauchier himself, or had taken place before it came into his hands, is here a matter of secondary importance. The primary point is, that, granting the existence of an early insular collection of episodic *Gawain* poems, granting the inclusion among them of one relating this most popular feat of the hero, we can understand how, and why, this perplexing *Carados* interpolation came to be inserted precisely at this point of the *Perceval*. I think it most probable, considering the maladroit manner in which the insertion has been effected, that it was already in the MS. employed by Wauchier. In any case, I am decidedly of opinion that it was through the medium of the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation that it found its way into the later *Perceval*. Exactly in what form it was first admitted into the cycle it is now not easy to decide, possibly the original intention was only to supply the hiatus in the *Gawain* group by the insertion of the adventure at Arthur's court, and that this insertion led automatically to the addition of the already existing, and dependent, group

[1] Cf. M. Gaston Paris's study of the poem in vol. xxx. of *Hist. Litt.*; also chap. ix. of my *Legend of Sir Gawain*.

of tales; but that the *Carados* cycle was formed independently of the *Perceval*, and did not grow up within its limits, is, I think, capable of proof.

The whole subject requires fresh and detailed study, but for the purposes of our investigation the main point to be borne in mind is this: the greater part of the subject matter of the first continuation of the *Perceval* was derived from an early, and insular, collection of Arthurian tales, of which Gawain was the original protagonist, and that, owing to deficiencies in the transmission, by the time it had reached Wauchier's hands there were gaps in the collection, which gaps were filled, either by Wauchier, or a previous owner of the text, probably this latter, by a late working over of the same themes. Thus we have the *Brun de Branlant* and the *Carados* sections, both of which, in their present form, are later than the stories among which they have been inserted, and both of which alike owe their presence to the fact that they are a remodelling of primitive *Gawain* themes.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

We are now at the end of our investigation, and it only remains for us to gather up the various threads, and to ask what is the result of the evidence here brought forward. We have seen reason to hold that the *Perceval* legend is, in its origin, extremely old, going back probably to a mythic root, and taking form and shape in a very primitive social milieu. A careful analysis of the story has led to the conclusion that, while no perfect form of the original tale now exists, and no two of the extant versions are dependent the one on the other, two poems so widely apart as our English *Syr Percyvelle* and the German *Parzival*, approve themselves as the most faithful representatives of the primitive tale. (Chaps. ii., iii.)

The poems of Chrétien and Wolfram derive ultimately from the same source, but Wolfram's intermediary, Kyot, was, so far as the *Enfances* are concerned, far more faithful to type than was Chrétien. A fragment of this common source has been preserved to us in the *Bliocadrans* prologue, inserted in two MSS. of the *Perceval*.

At an earlier date the story was probably told in the form of a lai, and in its entirety it fell into two groups, one relating the boyhood and entry into the world of the

hero, the other his relations with a fairy maiden, whom he won by the achievement of a test to which we have adduced numerous Celtic parallels. (Chap. iv.)

The first group of lais seems to have been the more popular, and to have been a favourite subject for literary treatment. Before it came into Chrétien's hands it had undergone ethical development, and become connected with the tradition of a mystical talisman, originally foreign to the *Perceval* tale, and itself no longer in a primary form.

Previous to this the story, in a very early shape, had become connected, by inclusion in a popular collection, with stories dealing with Gawain; and subsequently this connection was made closer by the amalgamation with a long poem, devoted to the feats of Gawain at a magic castle.

Thus the *Perceval* story, as known to Chrétien, was no longer in a simple form, but was combined alike with the *Gawain* and the *Grail* tradition. But it should be noted that the *Gawain* contamination was purely external, and, while confusing the story, in no way altered its character, whereas the connection with the Grail resulted in the complete transformation of the character and life of the hero.

The later *Gawain* poem, which we have named the *Chastel Merveilleus*, was clearly well known, and very popular, in Chrétien's day, and upon it he drew freely. So also did the scribes who undertook the task of copying the unfinished *Perceval*, and it appears probable that for some years after Chrétien's death the public remained content with the *dénouement* of the *Gawain* poem, while the *Perceval* adventures were left *en l'air*. As argument

for this view, we have the remarkable variants of that section of Chrétien's text which deals with Gawain, with their fundamental agreement, and the evidence of the important MS., B. N. 1450.[1] (Chaps. vi., vii., and viii.)

The first 'official' continuator of the *Perceval* was Wauchier de Denain, who was connected with the princely house from which Chrétien's patron sprung, and who may not unreasonably be supposed to have been entrusted by some member of that house with the task of completing the work left unfinished by the earlier poet. The MS. mainly relied on by him appears to have been largely composed of a late redaction of the *Gawain* collection referred to above, in which were included certain adventures of Perceval, some of them belonging to a very early stage of his legend. Thus a large part of the *Perceval* section is devoted to an expansion of the second group of lais, that dealing with the adventures undertaken by the hero at the behest of his fairy love. Wauchier appears to have been quite well aware that this form of the story was older than that which connected Perceval with the maiden Blancheflor, whom he could not altogether discard from the story, but whom he relegated to a secondary position, greatly to the confusion of his version. (Chaps. iv., ix., and x.)

The *Perceval* adventures in this section are crossed and confused by a series of tales, more episodic and primitive in character than the *Chastel Merveilleus*, of which Gawain, his son, and brother, are the heroes. For these *Gawain* stories, Wauchier quotes as authority a certain Bleheris, a

[1] The Scandinavian *Parcifal* might be thus accounted for, as an independent attempt on the part of the translator to conclude the unfinished *Perceval* adventures.

Welshman, who had for patron a Count of Poitiers. For the *Perceval* story, he refers to a book written at Fescamp. (Chaps. ix., x.)

We have already (chap. v.) found Fescamp in early possession of a legend curiously akin to the Grail legend in its most ecclesiastical form; the poem of Wolfram von Eschenbach, whilst clearly deriving from the same source as Chrétien, shows unmistakable signs of Fescamp influence; it thus seems not improbable that this Fescamp book may represent Chrétien's source, and would have been a *Perceval-Grail* poem. Owing, however, to the method pursued by Wauchier, who apparently preferred the earlier to the later version of the tales, it is not possible to say with absolute certainty whether or not he had before him the same source. We have, however, in the continuation of Gerbert some most valuable evidence on this point. Gerbert knew a story of the Grail sword, which explains and completes the indications given by Chrétien. He also knew a poem relating the marriage of Perceval and Blancheflor, and the consequent connection of the Grail King with the Swan Knight, harmonising perfectly with the version of Wolfram von Eschenbach (chap. v.). It is not easy to say whether the evidence points to a knowledge of the common source of Chrétien and Wolfram, Count Philip's book, or to the special source of Wolfram, Kyot's poem; but it seems beyond doubt that, beside the poem of Chrétien, there existed another long and detailed version of the story of Perceval and the Grail, a version, moreover, of no little merit and importance.[1]

[1] Judging from the extracts preserved in B. N. 1450, the author of *Chastel Merveilleus* was no mean poet. Can the *Perceval* (*Bliocadrans*), and *Gawain* (*Chastel Merveilleus*) fragments be by the same hand?

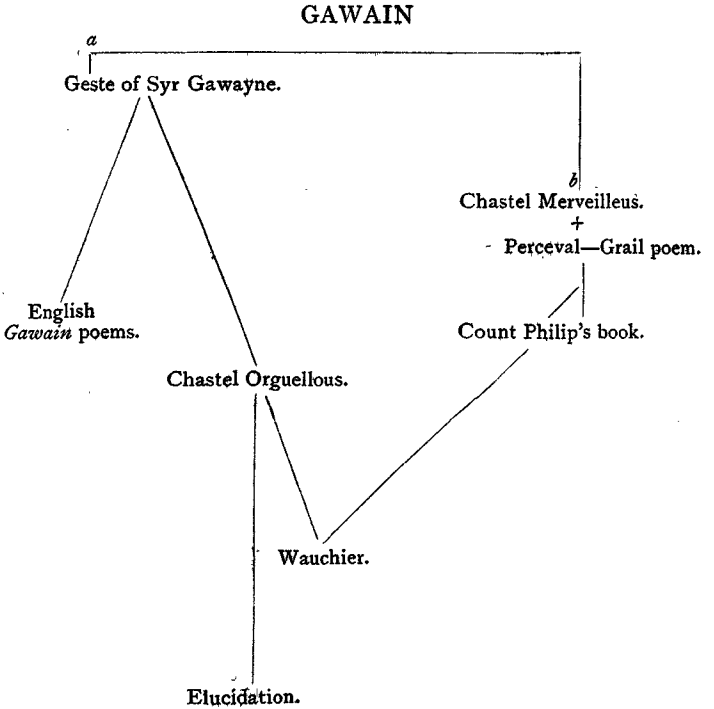
It seems most probable, considering the fact that both Chrétien and Wauchier were connected with the house of Flanders, and may reasonably be supposed to have had access to the same sources of information, that the book of Count Philip was not one poem, but a collection of poems, or metrical tales, some of which were doubtless incomplete, *e.g.*, the *Chastel Orguellous* section was certainly in a mutilated form. (Chaps. xiv., xv.)

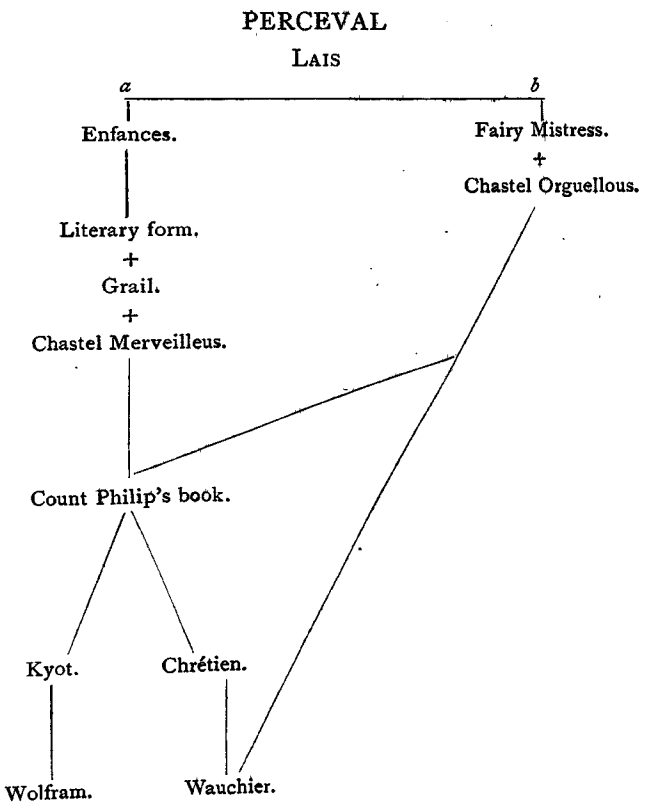
The compilation to which I have given the above name appears, so far as the evidence at our disposal goes, to represent the earliest recoverable stratum of Arthurian romantic tradition. The stories were in the form of short, episodic poems, of which Gawain, as a rule, was the hero. In fact the germ of the *Chastel Orguellous* compilation would seem to have been an important collection of tales relative to this hero and his kin, and may be cited by the title of *The Geste of Syr Gawayne*. It further seems extremely probable that our vernacular Arthurian poems, the great majority of which find parallels in this section of the *Perceval*, are independent, and later, workings over of the individual members of this cycle.

The *Chastel Orguellous* compilation represents the *Geste of Syr Gawayne plus* adventures of other knights, while the *Elucidation* would appear to be a confused, and summary, version of an extended *Chastel Orguellous* text.

It is quite clear that there was at least one excellent Arthurian poet before Chrétien; his identity is worth research. For my own part, while reserving my opinion on the Feirefis and Prester John connection, I decidedly hold that the conclusion of Wolfram's poem, *i.e.* the reunion with Kondwîrâmur and connection with Swan Knight, represents the original termination of the common source.

The accompanying tables may make clear the somewhat complicated structure of the *Perceval.*




PERCEVAL
LAIS
a
b
Enfances.
Fairy Mistress.
+
Chastel Orguellous.
Literary form.
+
Grail.
+
Chastel Merveilleus.
Count Philip's book.
Kyot.
Chrétien.
Wolfram.
Wauchier.

Now, in the light of these new facts, how do the various theories advanced as to the origin and sources of the *Perceval-Grail* legend stand?

The evidence at the disposal of M. Gaston Paris when, over twenty years ago, he delivered his address before the *Société Historique* (*supra*, p. xvii) was far less complete than it is to-day, but the sound critical instinct and penetrative faculty of the great French scholar were not at fault when he expressed his opinion that the story, in its original form, was now best represented by the *Syr Percyvelle*, and that the medium of transmission was originally Welsh. Tested by as searching an analysis as we could devise, the *Syr Percyvelle* has shown itself the most faithful reproduction of the original theme, and Wauchier's reference to Bleheris proves once and for all that the compilers of the Arthurian romances had access to Welsh sources.[1]

So far the question of the Anglo-Norman poems cannot be held to be solved, but the evidence of the English versions of the *Gawain* poem, which, while deriving, as we now see they did, from an insular source, yet show undoubted signs of French transmission, while they cannot be referred to any extant French original, appears to point in this direction. The *Chastel Merveilleus* poem too, with its insistence on insular tradition, and insular

[1] In order to avoid misunderstanding, it may be well to state here that I had no idea that M. Paris had pronounced in favour of the *Syr Percyvelle*. I knew, of course, what were the views he held as to the *Matière de Bretagne* in general, but it was not till these studies were in the press, and I was looking up, in order to summarise, the opinions of leading scholars on the subject, that I became aware how completely the results obtained corresponded with the views expressed above.

geography, can hardly have been composed on Continental ground.[1]

On the other hand, how do the very precise 'dicta,' to which the advocates of the Continental theory have committed themselves, stand the test of these studies?

Is it possible any longer to deny the existence of Arthurian poems, not mere lais, but finished literary productions, before Chrétien de Troyes? Whence came the *Bliocadrans* fragment? Whence the passage as to Perceval's name, interpolated in B. N. 794 and B. M. Add. 36,614? Where did Wauchier find Perceval's sister? What was the source whence Gerbert drew his account of the wedding of Perceval and Blancheflor? And if Chrétien is not, in his *Gawain* section, borrowing—borrowing shamelessly and wholesale—from a previous poem, how are we to account for the peculiar character of the variants in this part of the *Perceval*, and whence derive the passages quoted from B. N. 1450? Will Professor Foerster any longer venture to assert of pre-Chrétien poems, 'Es ist nicht die geringste Spur derselben vorhanden?' Will he, face to face with Wauchier's testimony as to the native land of Bleheris repeat that 'Während Alles für Bretagne sprach, spricht Alles gegen Wales?'

And if Professor Foerster's theories fare thus ill in the light of recent discoveries, what of Professor Golther's? With the above evidence before him, can he any longer maintain that Chrétien was the sole and only source of the

[1] I allude, of course, more especially to *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte* and *The Weddynge of Syr Gawayne*, both of which are superior to any French version of the adventure. Also to the connection of Gawain with Galloway, and the introduction of so un-Arthurian a town as Nottingham on Trent.

Perceval-Grail tradition? Is it not as clear as daylight that Wauchier and Gerbert alike knew a vast deal more regarding both than Chrétien had placed on record? Moreover, that they were very little concerned to harmonise their versions with his—they had before them the old and the new, and they said 'the old is better.'

Does Professor Golther, after reading the evidence collected in chap. v., really think now that Robert de Borron invented the Joseph of Arimathea story solely to supply an *Early History* to Chrétien's unfinished work? The Fescamp legend is our Grail *Early History* in all but name; and it is at least a hundred years older than any known Grail text. Wauchier says the story of Perceval was in the book written at Fescamp, the *Parzival* knows the special Fescamp relics, the knives. Dare we shut our eyes to these facts, and deny the existence of a pre-Chrétien Christian Grail tradition?

We of the Celtic and Insular school have for long suffered reproach, and borne many hard words, may we not now claim that the day of our justification is at hand?

The final outcome of these studies is, I submit, to justify the opinion expressed at the conclusion of the *Lancelot* studies, *i.e.* that the *Perceval* legend would be found to be far older than we had hitherto been willing to admit; to prove that the Arthurian romances, as we now possess them, represent only the final stages of a long evolutionary growth, and that though we may be easily led astray by placing the origin of a story too late, it is scarcely possible, in dealing with matter of this character, to err by placing it too early. We have, I think, been too timid in restricting ourselves to the very limited period of the twelfth century

represented by the literary activity of Chrétien de Troyes I am inclined to believe that we shall eventually find that the *Matière de Bretagne* was a source of inspiration certainly in the earlier half of the century, if not even before that time.

With regard to the reputed authority for the tales, Bleheris, the evidence is, so far, incomplete. The two Counts de Poitiers, who best conform to the traditional conception of a patron of literature, lived, one from 990-1029, the other from 1086-1126. The name Bleheris, in its Latinised form of Bledhericus, occurs more than once in insular records, and during the lifetime of Guillaume le Grand, Count of Poitiers (983-1022), a bishop of that name occupied the see of Llandaff and appears, if tradition is to be trusted, to have enjoyed considerable fame as a scholar. We may perhaps be dealing with a tenth century Bishop Percy!

If the compiler of the stories really lived in the twelfth century I can scarcely believe that the allusions to him as a real personality should be so few and far between, while the name in its compound form should be so frequently met with as that of a fictitious character. It seems to me more probable that there had been sufficient lapse of time for the knowledge of the real identity of Bleheris to become confused, while his connection with Arthurian tradition survived. That an individual of that name lived, and was looked upon as an authority for the *Matière de Bretagne*, is now, I think, beyond dispute.

In so far as the evolution of the Grail legend is concerned, it now seems to me possible to formulate a more or less definite theory. We have sound reasons for believing that the *Gawain* version, attributed to Bleheris,

represents the earliest attainable form of the story. This in itself is a decided gain, as it provides us with a solid point of departure for critical investigation. While we were arguing from the *Perceval* versions there was always the initial difficulty of determining which particular form of the legend was to be regarded as the earlier: here we have no doubt, and we shall moreover find that all the characteristic features of the *Gawain* tale point in one direction, and in one direction only.

I believe that in the Bleheris *Gawain-Grail* story we have the confused remembrance of a most ancient and widespread form of Nature worship, the cult of Adonis, or Tammuz, which underlies many of the ancient mysteries, and was, as *The Golden Bough* has taught us, of practically universal observance. In these rites the death of the god was annually commemorated with weeping and lamentation; a figure of the deity was carried by weeping women to the sea-shore, where it was committed to the waves. With the death of the god, vegetation was held to die, and revive with his revival, after a certain period, sometimes three days.

The significant details of the ritual, which varied in different countries, are given in full and commented upon by Professor Frazer in his monumental work.[1]

Now, I think it clear that all the leading details of the Bleheris *Gawain* version can be accounted for as a survival of these rites. The dead body on the bier, the wailing women, the wasted land, and the position of the castle on the sea-shore would all find an explanation here. The second

[1] For evidence on this point, cf *The Golden Bough*, section *Adonis*, but the whole work is devoted to the study of the varying forms of this cult.

feature, the weeping women, which, as I pointed out in my translation of the tale, recurs in so curious and persistent a manner in the Grail stories, would in this light be fully explained. The mourning women played so large a rôle in the Adonis or Tammuz worship that an Arab writer of the tenth century calls the Tammuz celebration by the name of *El-Bugât*, 'the festival of the Weeping Women.'[1]

Again, if the Grail stories be a survival of the early Mysteries, we can account for another feature, the three mysterious drops of blood, the sight of which plunges the beholder in a trance. Heckethorn, in *The Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries*, remarks: 'Three drops of blood, or their counterpart, are found in all Mysteries of the Ancient World.' Their precise rôle and significance are not stated.[2]

The interesting point for us here is that in the *Gawain-Grail* versions we find the three drops of blood closely connected with the Grail itself. In *Diu Crône* the drops fall from the spear, and are partaken of by the Grail King. In *Perlesvaus*[3] it is not distinctly stated that they fall from

[1] Readers will recall the vision of the prophet Ezekiel, when he visits in spirit the Temple at Jerusalem, and sees 'women weeping for Tammuz.' Cf. Ezekiel, chap. viii.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 29. The difficulty of these investigations lies in the fact that those who know the details accurately, and from the inside, have always been pledged to secrecy. We are thus obliged to rely, more or less, on outside testimony, and therefore cannot be certain that we have either the full description of the rites, or of the symbolism involved.

[3] Cf. *Arthurian Romances*, vol. vi.; *Perlesvaus*, Branch VI. chap. xix. Is it not possible that the magic slumber which, in *Diu Crône*, overtakes Lancelot and Calogrenant may originally have been due to the drops of blood, and not, as now, to the wine they have drunk?

the lance, but it seems to be implied; Gawain gazing on them is spellbound, and may not move or speak. In the *Perceval* romances, on the contrary, the blood drops are in no way connected with the Grail. If this suggestion be correct, Professor Heinzel's view that the question really represents a formula of initiation, and the failure to ask it the failure of the neophyte under trial, assumes fresh significance. The partial asking of the question does, in the *Gawain* version, bring about a partial revival of vegetation, which was precisely the aim and object of these Mysteries. If this interpretation be correct we must regard the Grail castle rather as a Temple of Initiation than as an Other-world abode.

But what of the Grail itself? No student of the subject requires to be reminded that all these Mysteries involved a common meal, of quasi-sacramental character, and in the course of his extensive study Professor Frazer has adduced numerous instances wherein the ceremonies bear a decided resemblance to the rites of the Christian Church. I see no difficulty in believing that the Grail was originally a vessel which played a rôle in the rites of some form of Nature worship current in these islands. The remembrance survived in the form of a folk-tale, and most probably the vessel borrowed features from the food-providing talismans with which the popular lore of all countries are freely equipped. Thus in its origin, of which the *Gawain* stories are the survival, the Grail was purely Pagan.[1]

[1] I would here guard against being supposed in any way to advocate the view that the mediæval minstrels were the conscious guardians, and transmitters, of an occult tradition. I believe the Grail story in its intermediate form, *i.e.* before it became a Christian legend, was to them a folk-tale, pure and simple, and was retailed by them as

Given such a story, given also such a legend as the Fescamp *Saint-Sang* legend, and it seems to me that we have all the materials necessary for the later Grail tradition. The quasi-sacramental meal of the Mysteries, with its talismanic vessel, and three drops of blood, only needed to be identified with the Eucharistic feast, the Chalice, and the *Saint Sang*, and the dim survival of Pagan rites was capable of use for Christian edification.

And in this welding together of Pagan and Christian, it was the latter which suffered the greater change. It cannot escape the notice of any careful student of the stories that between the version of Robert de Borron, which may be held to represent the legend of Fescamp, and that of the *Queste*, a change has taken place: the point of interest has shifted from *contenu* to container; it is no longer the Holy Blood, which is the object of adoration, but rather the Grail, the vessel in which that Blood was preserved. In the Fescamp legend the *Saint Sang*, whether preserved in glove, or phial, is the centre and essence of the story. Why, and how, did the point of adoration become shifted to the vessel, Cup, or Dish, whichever you will? Was it not because, in its fully developed form, the legend had come into contact with, and been influenced by, another story in which, though the Blood indeed played a part, yet the point of importance was rather the Feast, with its attendant

such. They treated it as they would any other story, adding at their will explanatory, or illustrative, features, borrowed from like tales. Thus I do not think that there were at first two lethal weapons; probably the lance alone belonged to the story, while the sword was introduced later, it may be, to supply a test of the hero's fitness, when the real meaning of the question had become obscured. It certainly has analogies with Scandinavian tradition.

Vessel? It seems to me that there can be little doubt that we are here dealing with the union of two independent, and distinct, lines of tradition.

As to when, and on what ground, the union was effected, I should hesitate to say. I think it probable that the first stages took place, as it were, automatically; here, as elsewhere, the force of Christian belief operated naturally and unconsciously; but the final touches of assimilation may well have been given by a minstrel belonging to a guild connected with a monastery, such as Fescamp. It seems indeed as if Fescamp had supplied the model, and the story been recast in favour of the Apostle of Britain, Joseph of Arimathea. If the Grail, in its Pagan form, was connected with the Arthurian legend (and there is reason to think that other features of that legend also derive from Nature worship), the transformation would naturally take place on insular ground.[1]

If this view be accepted, I think we can see how Gawain came to be displaced from his position as hero of the quest. He belonged to it in its non-Christian form, and when the story was worked over for the purpose of Christian edification it would be most natural—the bent, and meaning of the adventure being changed—to change also the name of the hero. Long ago, in my studies on the *Legend of Sir Gawain*, I pointed out that there were certain features,

[1] Cf. here a study on the Round Table, recently published by Dr. Lewis Mott in the *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America*. If there be any force, alike in his argument and in the above suggestions, it would appear that Arthur, the Grail, and the Round Table, derive from the same tradition, and may well have been connected from the first. If such a connection could be established it would simplify greatly the conditions of the problem.

inherent in the original legend, which clung persistently to Gawain, and being misunderstood by the later chroniclers, caused an entirely false apprehension of his character. That Gawain, a purely mythical hero, should be closely connected with the vague traditions of an ancient, and mystical, cult, is alike probable and fitting; as hero of a distinctively Christian legend he would certainly be out of place.

Why Perceval, in particular, should have been the knight selected to supersede him is another question. I have, in a note to chap. v., suggested three possible interpretations; further study may show us which of these three is the correct one. The important point for our investigation is that we have now sound reasons for believing that, not Perceval, the subject of these studies, but Gawain, was the original Grail hero. So far as we can trace the stories, the version connected with him appears to be the older in date, and its individual features are capable of explanation by analogy with a group of world-wide rites and observances. The *Perceval* versions, on the other hand, lack these special features. No *Perceval* Grail visit possesses the body on the bier, nor the wailing women; the wasting of the land only occurs once, in Gerbert, nor is the castle, as a rule, on the sea-shore, though it has returned there in the Lancelot visit in the *Queste*.[1]

The conclusion of the whole matter appears to me to be this, that behind Romance lies Folk-lore, behind Folk-lore lie the fragments of forgotten Faiths: the outward expression has changed, but the essential elements remain the same. What the Grail was from the first, that throughout

[1] Earlier in the *Prose Lancelot* it is inland.

its development it has remained, the symbol and witness to unseen realities, transcending this world of sense; on whatever plane the effort be made, the attempt to penetrate from the outer to the inner, to apprehend behind the sign the thing signified, to bring the lower, and temporary, life into contact with the higher and enduring is a task worthy the highest energies of man. I do not think it matters in the least whether or not the Grail was originally Christian, if it was from the first the symbol of spiritual endeavour.

Professor Foerster is right when he claims that, as a matter of date, in their present form, the historic Arthurian tradition is older than the romantic, but he is wrong when he claims that therefore the romantic is the younger. It is but a later expression of an earlier stage, which antedated the historic. Arthur as *dux bellorum* may very well date from the fifth century; Arthur and his knights as first folk-lore, then romantic, heroes, are survivals of the Celtic Wonder-world; and that, in its essential elements, preceded the birth of history, and will endure till the need for history shall pass away.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

APPENDIX

THE 'VOLTO SANTO' OF LUCCA

E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, in his *Christusbilder* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 283 *et seq.*, gives a detailed account of this relic. The popular version of the legend runs as follows. In the time of Charles and Pépin it was revealed, through the medium of a dream, to the sub-Alpine bishop Gualfredus, then resident in Jerusalem, that the image of Christ, carved by Nicodemus, was concealed in the dwelling of a Christian near at hand. The bishop made inquiries, and discovering this to be the truth, took counsel as to how the sacred relic might best be preserved from the hands of unbelievers.

It was decided to commit it to the waves. On the coast there was found a wondrous heaven-sent vessel (how the vessel was found, or how the purpose for which it was destined was known, is not here told); in this the Crucifix was laid, with pomp and reverence (*kostbar aufgebahrt*), and then left to its fate. Without rudder or steersman the vessel drifted till it reached the Tuscan coast. There it was sighted by the pirates of Luna; but try as they might they could not succeed in reaching or boarding it. The inhabitants of the neighbouring city of Lucca, hearing of the marvel, came thither when the mysterious ship and its burden yielded itself to their hands.

In order to avoid a conflict, John, Bishop of Lucca, gave over to his fellow-bishop of Luna a flask filled with blood (evidently a Saint-Sang relic), which had been found with the

Crucifix, and himself brought the latter with great pomp and solemnity to a chapel outside the door of the cathedral church of S. Martin. A later addition to the legend explains that the relic was first preserved in the church of S. Frediano, and from thence betook itself, of its own volition, to the cathedral, where it is now displayed.

The authority for the legend is a certain Leboin, professedly deacon to Bishop Gualfredus, who places the events related in the year A.D. 742. Von Dobschütz remarks that inasmuch as he is writing in Palestine, it is not easy to know how he should be so well informed concerning the events happening on the Tuscan coast. Nor do we possess the original MS., but from internal evidence the text may well belong to the eighth century; as a matter of fact experts consider the relic itself to be a work of that period.

Von Dobschütz notes the connection with the Joseph of Arimathea interpolation in the Grail story, but having before him only the Potvin text he has, naturally, confused Joseph with Nicodemus, and, moreover, does not appear to know the Fescamp legend (he refers to the preservation of the Saint Sang at La Rochelle and at the Abbey of Bec in Poitou); hence he has failed to note the practical identity of the stories. The 'Volto Santo,' Fescamp, and the Grail legend undoubtedly form a trilogy, of which it is not easy to decide which of the two first is the older. The only extant texts of Leboin date from the thirteenth century; an eleventh century copy, mentioned by Bassocchini (*Ragionamento sopra il Volto Santo di Lucca*, 1884), has disappeared, and the earliest existing reference is in Gervasius of Tilbury, A.D. 1211. Thus, so far as documentary evidence is concerned, the Fescamp story is the elder. The fact of the committal to the waves, and the place of embarkation, certainly indicate contact. A second line of tradition relates that Nicodemus concealed within the wood of the Crucifix the shroud in which our Lord had been wrapped, and which, retaining the impress of the Sacred Body, had served him for a model. When the news of this hidden treasure was brought

from the Holy Land, and an attempt made by the bishop of the day to bring the relic to light, he and his followers were smitten with blindness. This concealment in the wood of the Crucifix decidedly recalls that of the Saint Sang in the fig-tree.

The writer of the 'Joseph' interpolation knew the 'Volto Santo' as an object of pilgrimage familiar to his hearers; he says:

'le pluseur de vous le savez
qu'iluecques avez esté
veu l'avez e esgardé.'

I am of opinion that, so far as Lucca and Fescamp are concerned, we are dealing with rival legends; each was a goal of pilgrimage and each was desirous of proving itself to be equally worthy of resort with the other. It will probably be found that the Grail, in its distinctively ecclesiastical form, is the latest of the three, but the inter-relation cannot be determined off-hand, and the subject requires further study.

INDEX

AALARDIN DU LAC, 15, 16, 123, 124, 125, 310, 313.
Abrioris de Brunes Mons, 22, 258.
Acheflour, 64.
Adonis (Mysteries of), 330, 331.
Agloval, 61, 125.
Agravain, 268.
Aguinguerron, 3, 103, 136.
Alain li Gros, 26, 36, 61, 64, 123.
Amangons (King), 276, 277, 280.
Amorous (Ford), 22, 258.
Arawn, 147, 148.
Arides de Cavalon, 29, 106, 139.
Arthur, 1-6, 9-15, 17, 20-25, 49-52, 64, 79, 82, 111, 175, 194, 236-241, 259, 271, 272, 292, 315.
—— Awntyrs of, 284.
—— and Gorlagon, 296.
Avalon, 191.

BAGOMEDES, 24, 29, 37, 193, 270, 271.
Bale (Catalogue), 291, 292.
Ban de Gomeret, 59.
Beatris, 50.
Bel-Inconnu (*v.* Guinglain), 129.
Bel-repaire, 121.
Bertrans, 185.
Biau-repaire, 3, 4, 22, 121.
Blancheflor, 3, 6, 22, 29, 102-106, 118, 119, 139, 258, 259, 275, 321, 322, 327.
Bledhericus, 289, 293, 329.
Bledri (of Llandaff), 294, 295, 329.
Bleheris, 40, 148, 162, 171, 221, 222, 241, 249, 251, 274, 278, 280, 281, 288-297, 321, 326, 329, 330.
Bleobleheris, *v.* Bleheris.
Blihis (Master) (*v.* Bleheris), 276, 281, 289.
Blihos-bliheris (*v.* Bleheris), 277, 281, 289.
Bliocadrans (prologue), 40, 43, 55, 59, 62, 66, 71, 72, 73, 74, 79, 80, 85, 86, 89, 90, 95, 96, 214, 228, 319, 327.
Boort, 42.
Borel (*Trésor d'Antiquités*), 28, 181.
Borron (Robert de), 26, 66, 171, 328, 333.
Brandelis, 14, 17, 170, 238, 240, 241, 268, 279, 284, 285, 298-308.
Brandeval (King), 244.
Brandigan (King), 255.
Brangemuer, 20.
Brangepart (Queen), 20.
Branlant (Brun de), 14, 179, 183, 234, 285, 298-308.
—— Lore de, 298.
Brehais, 185.
Breri (*v.* Bleheris), 289.
Bridge Perilous, 24, 266, 280, 281.
Briols de la Forest arsée, 24, 266, 269.
Bron de Gomeret, 299.

CADOR (of Cornwall), 15, 16, 123, 124, 268, 310, 312, 313.
Caflé (Castle of), 63.
Carados, 14, 15, 16, 56, 96, 123, 125, 183, 213, 234, 268, 299, 308.
—— cycle, 309-318.
Carduel, 2, 315.
Carduino, 83, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 100, 128.

Carmedic, 267.
Carras (King, of Recesse), 25, 250.
Chastel Merveilleus, 176, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 233, 307, 320, 321.
—— Study of poem, 184-215, 216, 227.
—— Orguellous, 6, 7, 17, 24, 36, 174, 176, 178, 182, 183, 184, 185, 189, 192, 211, 212, 223, 226, 266, 267, 268, 280, 281, 299, 315, 317, 323.
—— compilation, 232-252.
Chessboard (Castle of), 107-111, 269.
Chrétien de Troyes (*v.* also Perceval), xix, xx, xxi.
—— Abstract of poem, 1-11.
—— Version of hero's birth, 59, 73, 74.
—— his youth, 76-79, 85, 89, 90, 91, 95-99.
—— relations with Blancheflor, 103-123, 128.
—— conception of Grail, 152-154.
—— position in Arthurian cycle, 228-231, 327, 328.
Clamadeus, 3, 103, 204.
Clarion (de la haute forêt), 219.
Clarissans, 11, 12, 32, 48, 180, 205, 210, 212.
Claudas (de la Deserte), 25, 250.
Cothoatre, 135, 139, 143.

DINDRANE, 64.
Disnadares, 13, 14, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 224, 226.
Disnadaron, 51, 52.
Droes Daves, 184.

ELIAURES, 14.
Elucidation, 38, 44, 55, 175, 178, 182, 276-282, 289, 290, 296, 323.
Enigeus, 61.
Erec, 113, 291.
Escavalon, 7, 13, 46, 48, 49, 52, 59, 175, 185, 212, 216, 217, 225.
Escolasse, 142, 151.
Evrawc (Earl), 65.

FEIREFIS, 126.
Fescamp, 155, 156, 166, 229, 272, 275, 322, 328, 333, 334.
—— Legend of Saint Sang, 157-160.
—— knives, 162.
—— Guild of Minstrels, 167-170.
—— connection with England, 168.
Fianna (the), 111, 112, 114, 115.
Finn, *v.* Fianna.
Foerster (Professor), xix, xx, 327, 336.
Frolac (King), 143, 147, 150.

GALAAN, *v.* Wieland.
Galahad, 118, 263.
Galehas de Bonivant, 224.
Gales li Caus, 61.
Galloway (*v.* Gauvoie), 191, 192.
—— Galeron of, 285.
Galvoie, *v.* Gauvoie.
Gamuret, 63, 126.
Garahies, 19, 20, 247, 268, 279.
Garin, 185.
Garsalas, 23, 30, 264.
Gauvoie, 8, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 259, 260.
Gawain, 6-14, 17, 18, 24, 25, 113, 114, 170, 171, 174, 176, 268, 269, 277, 278.
—— MS. (Borel), 181.
—— adventures, 30, 42, 55, 217-227.
—— (Chastel Merveilleus), 184-215.
—— (Chastel Orguellous), 232-252.
—— poems (English), 282-287.
—— and sister of Brandelis, 301-308.
—— legend (Table), 324.
Gawayne, Syr (and Grene Knyghte), 283, 286, 287, 296, 306, 316, 317, 323.
—— (*v.* Golagros), 283, 284.
—— (Geste of Syr), 286, 317.
—— (Weddynge of), 285, 287.
Gerbert (de Montreuil), 28, 29, 33, 61, 68, 89, 119-122, 140-148, 214, 221, 257, 263, 322, 327, 335.
Giflet (fis Do), 6, 16, 174, 185, 203, 204, 212, 235, 239, 240, 241, 268, 299.

Giri (fis Do), 204.
Glamorgan, 20, 246, 247, 279, 285.
Glastonbury, 191.
Glomorgan, *v.* Glamorgan.
Golther (Professor), xxi, 327, 328.
Gornemans de Gorhaût, 3, 102, 119, 121.
Graal, *v.* Grail.
Grail, 4, 5, 6, 13, 18, 23, 25, 48, 61, 152-172, 263, 264, 276, 277, 278.
—— Branches of, 279, 280.
—— Castle, 132-172, 221, 223, 273.
—— sword, 29, 38, 41, 55, 132-152, 273.
—— legend, 330-336.
Gréoreas, 9, 13, 186.
Guerrehes, 19, 247, 279.
Guigambrésil, 7, 8, 13, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 174, 175, 176, 179, 182, 184, 185, 210.
Guigan (de Dolas), 204.
Guilorete, *v.* Guinelorete.
Guimier, 16, 123, 125, 310, 311, 312, 313.
Guinelorete, 242.
Guinevere, 11, 17, 111, 204.
Guingamor, 20, 267.
Guinglain, 22, 25, 129, 244, 252, 258, 268, 286, 307.
Guiromélans, 11, 12, 14, 32, 40, 48, 51, 180, 181, 190, 192, 194, 199, 204, 205, 212.

Havgan, 147.
Hector, 44.
Helinandus, 171, 292.
Herbaus, 185.
Herzeleide, 63, 64.
Huden, 279.

Idier (fis Nu), 25, 248.

Jôfrêît (fis Idôl), 212.
Joseph (of Arimathea), 30, 32, 36, 60, 64, 89, 157, 163, 164, 165, 222, 225, 263, 275, 311, 334.
Judas Maccabæus, 225.
Julian le Gros, 64.

Kahedîn, 174, 175.
Karnant, 147.
Kay, 2, 3, 17, 24, 29, 37, 48, 173, 193, 237, 240, 241, 259, 270, 279.
Kex, *v.* Kay.
Klingsor, 233.
Kondrie, 122, 211, 219.
Kondwiramûr, 123, 130.
Kyot, 72, 73, 93, 121, 122, 146, 152, 211, 319, 322.

Lac (King), 147.
Lance (Bleeding) (*v.* also Grail Castle), 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 18, 48, 176.
Lancelot (du Lac), 237, 280, 284, 287, 316, 317, 335.
—— (Dutch), 113, 179, 180, 185, 189, 226.
—— (Prose), 65, 66, 126, 335.
Lanzelet, 111, 268, 280.
Layamon, 175, 271.
Libeaus Desconus, *v.* Guinglain.
Lionel, 42, 245.
Loathly Messenger, 173, 174, 219.
Lot (M. Ferd.), xviii, 192, 314.
—— (King), 10, 193, 248.
Lucains, 239, 240.
Lucca (Volto Santo), 165, 166, *v.* Appendix.
Lufamour, 126, 130.

Maidens (Castle of), 23, 262, 263, 280, 281.
Malmesbury (William of), 192.
Manessier, 29, 33, 60, 89, 106, 222, 238, 263, 275, 277, 280.
Marcarot de Panthelyon, 218, 219.
Melians de Lis, 7, 303, 304, 307.
Merlin, 25, 175, 272.
Mont Dolorous, 24, 25, 37, 155, 156, 168, 174, 175, 270, 271, 272.
Mont Esclaire, 6, 14, 30, 174, 175, 176, 179, 185, 218, 223, 224, 225, 226.
Morcades, 193.
Morien, 125, 219.
Morres (de Lis), 302, 306.

Nicodemus, 64, 157, 160, 164, 165, 168.

Norres de Lis, *v.* Morres.
Nottingham-on-Trent, 51, 192.

ORGELUSE, 185, 212, 219.
Orgillos (l' de la Lande), 5, 29, 137, 152.
Orgueilleuse (l' de Logres) (*v.* Orgeluse), 11, 106, 185.

PARCIVAL (Icelandic), 65, 81.
Paris (M. Gaston), xvii, xviii, 181, 289, 290, 314, 326.
Parzival, 58, 63, 69, 71, 72, 80, 81, 92, 94, 96, 121, 123, 126, 130, 154, 210, 211, 219, 221, 268, 300, 319, 328.
—— *v.* also Wolfram.
Pelles (King), 64.
Perceval (Legend of), birth and parentage, 57-75; Enfances, 76-101; analysis of original form, 89-91; his amours, 102-131; adventures as told by Wauchier, 253-275.
Perceval (poem), abstract of 1-11.
—— texts, MSS., 27-43.
—— —— printed, and translations, 43-46.
—— redaction I., 48-50, 55.
—— —— II., 50, 52, 55.
—— Table of variants, 55.
—— —— of Legend (*v.* also Chrétien de Troyes, Graïl, and Wauchier de Denain), 325.
—— (Didot), xxiii, 58, 66, 68, 81, 89, 109, 128.
Percyvelle (Syr, of Galles), xviii, xxiii, 59, 64, 67, 70, 82, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 100, 127, 128, 130, 319, 326.
Peredur, xxiii, 59, 64, 66, 81, 83, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 109, 110, 127, 128, 222, 223.
Perlesvaus, xxiii, 64, 66, 68, 89, 91, 110, 128, 131, 316, 331.
Philip (Count of Flanders), 1, 57, 73, 121, 146, 168, 322, 323.
Philosofine, 61.
Poitiers (Counts of), 249, 251, 293, 294, 297, 321, 329.
Prester, John, 126.
Pwyll (Mabinogi of), 147.

QUESTE, 65, 68, 171, 226, 263, 333, 335.

RICHE SOUDOIER (the), 17, 239, 240, 298.
Rosette, 259.

SAIGREMOR, *v.* Segramor.
Segramor, 6, 30, 173, 263, 268.
Séguin, 31.
Sigune, 147.
Sinadon, 26, 36, 61.
Swan Knight, 121, 122, 322.

TAMMUZ, *v.* Adonis.
Tancree, 50.
Tiébalt, 185.
Tiébaut, 7.
Tintaguel, 7, 46, 176, 184, 192.
Tir-nan-og, 191.
Tor (fis Ares), 268, 299.
Traez-Davez, 184.
Trebuchet, 5, 29, 136, 139, 143, 144, 147.
Tresches-Daines, 184.
Triboet (*v.* Trebuchet), 139.
Tristan (romance), 111, 231, 289.
—— (Sir), 199, 279, 287, 306.
Tyolet, 112, 115, 116, 118.

URIEN (King), 236.
Uther Pendragon, 11, 59, 189, 271, 272.

VALERÍN, 111, 115.
Vannes, 14, 15, 309, 310, 312.
Vaudeluque (*v.* Lucca), 165.
Veronica, 165.
Vincent de Beauvais, 292, 293.

WALEWEIN, 219, 226.

Waitz (study on *Perceval*), 47, 56, 301.
Wauchier de Denain, 60, 68, 103, 107, 110, 118, 168, 182, 183, 214, 235.
—— Abstract of poem, 13-26.
—— extent of poem, 273, 274, 275.
—— character of MS., 296, 297, 318, 321.
—— variants of name, 270, 271.
—— *v.* also Perceval.
Wieland, 149, 150, 151, 220.
Wisse-Colin (trans.), 43, 124, 216.
Wolfram (von Eschenbach), 73, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 119, 129, 146, 147, 151, 152, 126, 322.
Wolfram, *v.* also Parzival and Kyot.

YGLOAS, 64.
Yonec, 245.
Yonet, 3, 245.
Ysave (of Carahes), 14, 299, 309.
Ysmaine, 298, 299.
Ywain, 182, 203, 204, 236, 237, 240, 245, 268, 298, 299.

ZIMMER (Professor), xxi.

Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

(HL)
64664

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hemendra Kothari
on 06 November, 2019